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JOURNAL OF
LOCAL ADMINISTRATION OVERSEAS

Volume III · Number 2 · April 1964

Editor's Notes

In this issue and in our January issue we have had articles from India[1] and the United States of America[2] on a subject which, sometimes neglected, is of vital importance to the practical side of local government namely the relationship between elected members and permanent officials of local government bodies.

In popularly elected councils there is always the latent and sometimes only too apparent danger of conflict between the politician or elected member and the official civil servant. Some of the causes of these conflicts are common to all countries; other are due to historical and social reasons peculiar to each territory.

Most countries formerly dependent on a colonial power have inherited a system in which the traditional authority and the official civil servant have together exercised the powers of deliberation, decision and responsibility of executive action. With the approach of independence representative government has usually been introduced and with it the civil servant has had to face the prospect of a radical adjustment from being virtually an employer to assuming the quite definitive status of an employee. This adjustment, difficult enough when his new employers are of the same intellectual standard as himself, is much more difficult if it happens that the elected councillors whom he serves are mostly his inferiors in social status and in education.

The newly elected councillor for his part starts off with several disadvantages. In all probability he has had little or no previous experience in the handling of public affairs. He may well develop an inferiority complex when faced with the superior attainments due to birth or education enjoyed by the civil servant. This may incite him to intrigue for the latter's replacement by a man of qualifications comparable to his own. He seldom has any developed idea of his proper responsibilities as a councillor. He has no tradition or convention to guide him. So it is natural that after all the trouble, risks and money spent to become elected he should want to see some substantial results in the form of personal as well as public benefits and to enjoy the fruits of authority and power which means at best the advancement of his political party and at worst his own personal aggrandisement. It is understandable, if he is conscientious, that he

[1] "Administration of Panchayat Raj Planning in India" by K. Seshadri, Vol. III, No. 1, January, 1964, pp. 20-26.

[2] See p. 00 "Achieving Mutual Understanding between Elected Officials and Professional Administrators".

will want to inspect local government works and expect to give orders and for them to be obeyed. It will certainly take time for him to learn that as an individual councillor he has status but no personal authority and that what authority he does enjoy can be displayed and exercised only as part of the collective responsibility of his council. Thus in countries new to democratic practice both employer and employee, councillor and official start off at a disadvantage.

One interesting and debatable opinion coming from an older country and made in the American article in this issue is that professional administrators make a mistake if they assume that they are expected to rise above politics, a rather fine distinction being drawn between political celibacy and political chastity. This American view is the antithesis to British philosophy. Political power normally changes too often for the permanent official always to be of the same political persuasion as that of the ruling majority in his council. If they differ and the official is positive in his political attitudes then he has little future but to wait until he is removed by fair means or foul or to seek a transfer or resign. In each case the evils of lack of continuity follow and the iniquitous "spoils" system is encouraged. It seems better that the civil servant eschews positive political sympathies and thereby takes the initiative in establishing confidence between himself and the elected officials whatever their politics.

What measures can best be taken to reduce this friction and to encourage co-operation? This problem has been numbered by Mr. C. A. G. Wallis in a paper presented to a seminar on urgent local government problems in Africa convened in Addis Ababa in 1962.[3] It was also the subject of discussion in one of the papers read at the Cambridge Summer Conference a year earlier.[4] The main conclusions were that on the official side the greatest need is for security: security from receiving orders from unauthorized sources and security from victimization for refusing to carry out ultra-vires orders or orders which if obeyed would involve breaking accepted moral codes. On the side of the elected councillor the first requirement is for him to understand the principles of collective and delegated responsibility and the method in which the council's decisions are to be carried out. He is entitled to expect loyal service from the official and high standards of competence and integrity; he must know the proper way in which supervision is exercised to ensure that the council's policies are being properly executed; he must appreciate the difference between conciliar supervision and professional inspection. Above all he must recognize that the civil servant is the servant of the public, the same public of which he himself is a temporary representative and but one part of the official's superior authority.

Who is to ensure that the councillor and the civil servant fully understand the nature of their relationship and where it is not fully understood what is the best way of providing for such training? It is clearly the responsibility of the central government working in co-operation with the local government to ensure that both are taught the limits of their respective powers. This can be done in many ways. In one territory a most successful experiment which has proved popular with the public, the elected official and the civil servant alike has been the establishment of a local government training scheme. This scheme

[3] See "Urgent Local Government Problems in Africa", by C. A. G. Wallis, Vol. II, No. 2, April, 1963, pp. 66-68.

[4] Report of O.S.C. Summer Conference on Local Government in Africa, 1961, University Press, Cambridge, pp. 30-47.

provides trained teams of instructors which tour local government areas giving courses to officials and elected members on their respective duties, responsibilities and powers. It is important also that the public itself is educated in this matter and there are many means of doing this through the ordinary mediums of publicity: the radio, television, newspapers and public meetings. In addition, to give support to this training and propaganda local government legislation should, where practicable, be introduced defining the position of councillor and official and giving security to the official by legally backed conditions of service. The central government should encourage civil service associations and consider the establishment of local government civil service commissions. All these measures will help towards building up as rapidly as possible a code of behaviour, a convention of relationships which in time becomes, as in the United Kingdom, as binding as a law though unwritten, the more valuable because it is accepted by elected member, official and public as part of the tradition of local government.

First Census of the African Population of Northern Rhodesia

by George Kay[1]

The first complete census of the African population of Northern Rhodesia was conducted during 1963. There have been regular censuses of the non-African population and of Africans in employment since 1911 but hitherto estimates of the total African population have been based mainly on lists of taxable males or, in the early years of the British South Africa Company's administration, on counts of taxable and other huts. Without the admirable work of the Provincial Administration it is difficult to see how any estimates would have been possible, but tax registers are not an adequate substitute for a census which was long overdue in Northern Rhodesia.

Organization and field methods

The numerous, and in many cases insurmountable, difficulties of obtaining an accurate census of a largely pre-literate population in a vast and, on the whole, sparsely peopled territory are probably inconceivable to those who have no intimate knowledge of such countries. And whilst everything possible was done to ensure success the results of the census inevitably lack the authority of those of the Western World. The co-operation of the populace was essential, and any organized opposition could have been disastrous. Fortunately, the census had the active support of all Northern Rhodesia's political leaders, and the government's Information Department mounted its largest publicity campaign to date on its behalf. The Central Statistical Office, a department of the Federal Government, organized the census and was able to call upon experience gained from the complete census of Southern Rhodesia's population in 1962 and from Northern Rhodesia's elections of October 1962. It planned the census with care, but its approach was inevitably conditioned by prevailing circumstances and in particular by limited financial resources and the dearth of adequately qualified staff.

The census was organized on the basis of the 44 urban and rural administrative districts, one of which (Fort Jameson District), was divided into three for the census because of its very large population. In each of the 46 districts an officer of the Provincial Administration was in charge of the census and was responsible for the sub-division of his district into enumeration areas, with an estimated population of not more than 5,000. The Territory was divided thus into 725 enumeration areas. In rural districts these were based on Chiefs' Areas, with sub-divisions or amalgamations where necessary in view of the estimated following of each chief and the size of his Area. In the urban centres they were based on the various residential sectors, and the census thus provides statistics relating to each major division of the urban and peri-urban areas.

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[1] Mr. A. J. Austin, Chief Census Officer, provided information on the census and Mr. F. E. Whitehead of the Central Statistical Office, Salisbury, subscribed valuable criticism of the manuscript. Their assistance is much appreciated. The opinions expressed, however, are those of the author alone.

The collection of data in each enumeration area was by a group of enumerators under the direction of a team leader. About 3,000 responsible persons with at least eight years of schooling (Standard 6) were recruited as enumerators. Most of these came from the ranks of school teachers and senior scholars, and the census was arranged so as to coincide with regional differences in school holidays; it commenced in some districts on May 15th and was completed everywhere by July 20th. Insufficient staff were available to conduct the census simultaneously at every place within each enumeration area, but an effort was made to complete the work within three weeks in each district. It was assumed that the inevitable omissions and duplications due to persons moving during the period of the census would cancel each other and no undue distortion of the results would arise. About 300 team leaders, men with experience of leadership and at least four years of secondary education (School Certificate), were required. The towns had little difficulty in obtaining sufficient leaders but, even though full time service was not essential, some rural districts failed to obtain their required number and some leaders had to supervise work in two enumeration areas. It was essential that all staff, and the enumerators in particular, should be conscientious and trustworthy because the success of the census depended largely on how they did their work.

The enumerators were to visit every dwelling in their area and to record details of all persons who slept in each on the previous night and of persons normally resident there who were absent on shift work, or on night hunting or fishing trips, or were temporarily sleeping in or near their gardens; in many rural areas the last mentioned category was numerous. All persons absent for any other reason were to be excluded. Fishing camps, labour camps for transients and similar dwellings and all residential institutions were to be visited and the occupants enumerated there. It was not necessary to interview every occupant personally provided that a member of the household, a neighbour, or the village headman was able to furnish the required details. No exceptional difficulties were encountered in the towns, nor in the unauthorized peri-urban residential areas, but the rural areas presented a more formidable task and even with the services of local persons as porters-cum-guides it was not easy to trace the whereabouts of every hut. Some areas, such as the Bangweulu Swamps, the Lukanga Swamp and the Kafue Flats, provided particularly difficult problems because of the character of their terrain. Also throughout these and other major fishing grounds are scattered innumerable fishing camps, many of them in most inaccessible places known only to their occupants. In such areas it seems likely that the census may slightly understate the population, and it would indeed be fortunate if no huts were missed in any rural area.

The Census Questionnaire

The Central Statistical Office compiled the census questionnaire after consultation with the various interested government departments. The limitations of the system of enumeration were recognized and the danger of overcrowding the questionnaire was avoided. In fact a few simple and valuable questions were, after due consideration, omitted.

The format and content of the questionnaire (Table 1) was most suitable for use in the towns, but in spite of its apparent simplicity it was difficult to apply in the rural areas. Some of the difficulties encountered arise from the attempt to use some internationally accepted definitions in an under-developed country like Northern Rhodesia where conditions are not comparable with

District..... Area Number.....

Housing				Personal Particulars of All Pe					
		Number of rooms in dwelling				Year of birth			
						Males			
Entry number	Hut or house number	Brick walls etc.	Pole and dagga walls etc.	Relationship to head of dwelling (specify)	Loss of limb	Born before 1918	Born 1918 to 1941	Born 1942 and after (specify)	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	
1	—	2	1	Wife					✓
				Son				1942	
				Daughter					
				Uncle	✓	✓			
				Visitor			✓		
2	V	ACANT							
3	—		5	Head			✓		
				Wife					✓
				Wife					✓
				Son				1953	
				Son				1955	
				Daughter					
				Wife's mother					✓
				Wife's sister's daughter					
4	—		2	Head			✓		
				Wife					✓
				Son				1943	
Total	...	2	8	16	1	1	3	4	1

TABLE I. *A Specimen Sheet of the Census Questionnaire Showing*

POPULATION 1963

Date.....

...me of Locality..... Form Number.....

...NT IN DWELLING LAST NIGHT							FURTHER PARTICULARS OF ALL MALES PRESENT IN DWELLING LAST NIGHT					
		Country of birth		Education			Self-employed				Not employed	
...ales							Mainly occupied in			Working for cash wages		
...born 1918 to 1941 (1)	Born 1942 and after (specify) (12)	Northern Rhodesia (13)	Other (Specify) (14)	Never been to school (15)	At school last term (16)	Left school before last term (specify standard reached) (17)	Farming (18)	Fishing (19)	Other occupations (specify) (20)	(21)	Seeking work last week (22)	Others (23)
✓		✓		✓								
		✓				S1					✓	
	1950	✓			✓							
			A	✓					S			
		✓				S4	✓					
		✓				S2	✓					
✓		✓				B						
✓			C	✓								
		✓			✓							✓
		✓		✓								✓
	1958	✓		✓								
			C	✓								
	1946	✓		✓								
		✓				F2	✓					
✓		✓		✓								
		✓				S6				✓		
4	3	13	3	8	2	6	3		1	1	1	2

...thod of Recording Particulars. The Households represented are fictitious.

those in the Western World. The failure to employ criteria and definitions carefully designed to suit conditions in Northern Rhodesia led to problems in interpreting some of the instructions to team leaders and enumerators, and various arbirtary decisions were made in the field to meet each contingency as it appeared. Inevitably the final decisions as to how some parts of the questionnaire should be answered differed to some extent from one district to another, and even amongst teams and enumerators within a district. Experience from this census suggests that, regardless of internationally accepted definitions, the questionnaire should be very closely adapted to conditions in Northern Rhodesia. And because urban and rural situations there are so markedly different the use of separate questionnaires in each may have definite advantages.

One definition which was difficult to apply in the rural areas was that of a 'dwelling', which in turn defined a household. Enumerators were informed that:–

> "in the rural areas a dwelling should be regarded as a hut or group of huts served by a common kitchen. From the point of view of the census the occupants of each dwelling form a separate household and should have a separate entry number."

This definition assumes that *all* occupants of each hut are served by one and *only one* kitchen or hearth, but in practice this is often not so. For instance, amongst the Ushi of Fort Rosebery District probably the most common complications would be those of polygamous households in which each wife has her own hearth from which she supplies her husband and, in many cases, close matrilineal relatives who live in the village; and secondly, those of newly-married couples who do not have entire independence of the wives' parents in which case the husband receives food prepared by his mother-in-law assisted by his wife and, in many cases, from his matrilineal kin with whom he lived and worked prior to his marriage. Huts shared by groups of unrelated children also would raise difficulties. Nor are associations around a hearth fixed, and elderly and incapacitated persons in particular may be dependent on food from several relatives in turn, and during the temporary absence of a husband or wife the remaining partner often rejoins his or her matrilineal kin. The domestic arrangements around a hearth or kitchen are, in fact, complex, and they differ from one tribe to another and from one family to another; nowhere are they simple or easily recognized. They inevitably caused enumerators some difficulty and the above definition could not be followed consistently. Also it is evident that without reference to the composition of the household as shown in column 5 the statistical summary of both household structure and housing conditions (columns 3 and 4) in the rural areas will be rather meaningless. Such data can be and indeed were collected with relatively little difficulty in the urban areas, and there they are of great practical value. Their value in the rural areas is less certain, and in view of the difficulties involved in attempting to collect them it may have been wiser simply to enumerate persons according to the huts in which they slept.

Employment and occupation categories (columns 18 to 23) provided another group of problems in the rural areas. Each male, irrespective of age, was to be placed in one of three mutually exclusive groups:–

(*a*) Working for wages (21).
(*b*) Self-employed (18-20).
(*c*) Not employed (22-23).

Every man working for wages should have been entered in column 21 regardless

of the nature of his work (permanent, seasonal or casual) or of his employer (European, Indian or African). This category caused little difficulty, though some enumerators were inclined to overlook casual labourers employed by Africans on peasant holdings.

Most villagers are self-employed and should have been entered in columns 18 to 20 according to their *main* occupation. Those whose 'main occupation is growing crops or keeping cattle' should have been entered in column 18 as farmers regardless of the type or scale of farming they carried on. Subsistence cultivators and commercial farmers were thus grouped together. Those whose 'main occupation is catching *and* selling fish' should have been entered in column 19 as fishermen; but no provision was made for the subsistence fisherman. Other occupations should have been specified in column 20 as follows:–

Builders—B; Transport workers—T; Shopkeepers and traders—S; Others—O.

These categories of occupations suggest some degree of specialization whereas in fact most villagers are polyfunctional. At least one district supervisor assumed that the object of the questions was to enumerate those who had departed from the traditional life of a villager and he directed that the ordinary villager be entered as 'Not-employed' and only those farmers *selling* crops be entered as farmers. He thus brought the definition of a farmer into line with that of a fisherman. This deviation from the intended procedure has much to commend it, and it would probably have been more rewarding to attempt a classification of 'villagers' as such, and to distinguish according to their specialism only self-employed persons in the money economy, say those earning a net cash income of £25 or more *per annum*.

All males who were neither working for wages nor working for themselves should have been entered as 'Not-employed' in either column 22 or 23. 'Boys at school or under school age' were included in this category but no guidance was given as to the definition of 'school age'. Most children receive not more than eight years of schooling, and boys should start school at the age of eight years. It seemed reasonable, therefore, to describe boys of fifteen years and under as of school age, but this may not have been done throughout the territory, and indeed 'under school age' may have been interpreted as 'too young to go to school'. It was intended that 'unpaid family workers' (persons working without pay in an economic enterprise operated by any member of the household) also should have been classed as not-employed, but it is unlikely that this was done except in the case of juveniles.

The not-employed category was sub-divided into 'those seeking work last week' and 'others' in an attempt to measure unemployment. Many self-employed persons may have been seeking temporary, or permanent work, during the previous week particularly as the census was conducted during the dry season when many male villagers have time on their hands and are anxious to take any opportunity of earning cash, but no provision was made to record their case. If they were entered, as they should have been, in the self-employed categories the census will understate the seasonal rate of unemployment in many rural areas.

It has been suggested that the concept 'seeking work' is not satisfactory in areas where there are no employment opportunities and that a record of those 'willing to work' would be more meaningful. To my knowledge one enumerator (H) working in a group of six misunderstood the instructions and did, in effect, record those willing to work. The relevant details are shown below, and they

confirm what one might reasonably expect: that almost every adult male not-employed would answer in the affirmative when asked if they were 'willing to work'. Indeed a large majority of those self-employed would probably express willingness to take paid employment. It is doubtful if such a record is more valuable than that of men 'seeking work' though it may better illustrate the widespread *under-employment* in the rural areas. It is, in fact, difficult to see how a demographic census can quantify the situation in respect of unemployment and under-employment in the tribal societies of Northern Rhodesia and for some time this must remain a field for detailed sociological and economic surveys.

	Enumerator H	*His 5 Team Mates*
Males born before 1942 ...	609	1,728
Males born 1942 and after ...	711	2,564
Self-employed males	365	1,556
Males working for wages ...	22	109
Males not employed:		
(*a*) Seeking work last week ...	250	50
(*b*) Others	583	2,577

In view of these difficulties of defining employment categories and occupations and of allocating each male accurately to one class or another, the results of the census of employment are probably of very limited value, with the exceptions of the records of those working for wages and, in urban areas, of those seeking work. Also, as women at work for wages are a subject of considerable interest nowadays it is unfortunate that no attempt was made to enumerate them.

The other questions were simpler and less likely to be misinterpreted, but some of them merit comment. To allay suspicion no names were recorded but a list of the members of each household was compiled. The main reasons for making this list were to assist the enumerators to collect other data required and to facilitate checking the entries; detailed relationships of each member to the head of the household were not required. Data relating to the loss of the use of any limb are of special interest to the Department of Social Welfare but, as many persons so disabled are nevertheless active, it might have been more useful to note those persons who were entirely incapacitated from any cause whatsoever. Only the main features of the age and sex structure were recorded (columns 7 to 12) and the specific year of birth was required only for persons under 21 years of age. If the date of birth of these persons was not known it was hoped that it could be be identified by reference to a chronological list of the dates of well-known local events; and 1918, which distinguishes persons of over 45 years of age, would be identified by reference to the widespread and notorious influenza epidemic of that year and the end of the First World War. Columns 15, 16 and 17 relate to the educational status of the population; for each person who had attended and left school the standard of education reached was recorded as follows:–

A—Sub-standard A; B—Sub-standard B; S1 etc.—Standard 1 to Standard 6; F1 etc.—Form 1 to Form 6.

The educational structure of the population attending school was not investigated in such detail. No doubt such statistics are available elsewhere, but they could have been conveniently drawn together for the total population by means of the census.

Persons born in Northern Rhodesia were listed in column 13 and in column 14 the country of birth of those born in the six adjacent countries was noted by the initial letter of each and those born in all other countries were indicated by an 'O'. No attempt was made to break down the place of birth and of those born in Northern Rhodesia, nor was the tribe of each person recorded. The latter is a serious omission because the importance of tribal affiliation is still very considerable and so few details of tribal structure are available. At present the numerical strength of each tribe is uncertain and their geographical distribution cannot be mapped accurately. The tribal composition of urban populations can only be roughly estimated, and the degree of inter-tribal contact remains obscure. And it is not only in the large towns that tribes mix. For example, Ushi comprise only 29 per cent. of the adult population of Fort Rosebery township and about 55 per cent. of those in many peri-urban villages even though the town is in the centre of the Ushi tribal area. Also in many rural areas, and particularly in areas of considerable economic potential, there has been an immigration of various tribesmen. There is reason to believe that about 90 per cent. of the fishermen in the Kafue Flats are from tribes other than local ones, and in the Central Province, immigrant farmers have recently caused some concern to Native Authorities. These and many similar situations merit statistical investigation and the census provided a valuable opportunity.

Some preliminary results[2]

Whatever limitations the census may have it is a significant milestone in Northern Rhodesia's development and it came at an important stage in the Territory's history. The Federal and Northern Rhodesia governments are to be congratulated on carrying through such an arduous and expensive exercise during difficult times and when resources were so limited. Northern Rhodesia has suffered, and continues to suffer from a dearth of basic statistical data and the census provides much long-awaited material of the utmost value to long term planning.

In 1950 a demographic sample survey of the African population was made by the Central Statistical Office and the results indicated a total indigenous population of 1,837,000, including 82,000 living outside the Territory. This figure was almost 10 per cent. above the estimated total indigenous population of 1,674,000. Neither of these figures take account of the emigration, temporary or otherwise, of Northern Rhodesians nor of non-indigenous Africans living in the Territory, and the estimated *de facto* population at the 30th June, 1950 was 1,816,000. The 1950 exercise suggested that the census was likely to indicate a *de facto* population somewhat greater than the official estimate of 2,520,000 for 30th June, 1963; and it has been a common experience in Africa in recent years for census results to exceed official estimates by considerable margins. Nevertheless the preliminary census result is a little startling. It reveals a population of 3,408,500 – a 35 per cent. increase on the official estimate. The population of the ten main towns (Kitwe – 101,600; Lusaka – 100,200; Ndola – 76,800; Mufulira – 69,300; Luanshya – 66,200; Chingola – 50,400; Broken Hill – 39,000; Livingstone – 28,800; Bancroft – 27,800; and Kalulushi – 15,400) is shown to be 575,500, almost 17 per cent. of the total population. 28.8 per cent. of the 228,100 persons born outside Northern Rhodesia live

[2] Preliminary results of the census were released by the Central Statistical Office on the 19th and 28th September, 1963.

in these towns where they constitute 11.4 per cent. of the population. The census also shows that there were 256,000 men in employment at the time of the census; details of the age structure of this cohort are not yet available, but it seems probable that almost 30 per cent. of the male population over 18 years of age were then working for wages. Another 74,000 men were reported to be actively seeking work. The broad age and sex structure of the total population and that of the ten main towns is shown in Table 2.

	Number	% *of total*	% *born before 1942*	% *born 1942 and after*
(*a*) *Northern Rhodesia*				
Males	1,690,200	49.6	44.3	55.7
Females	1,718,300	50.4	44.8	55.2
Total	3,408,500	100.0	44.5	55.5
(*b*) *Ten Main Towns*				
Males	322,600	56.1	50.7	49.3
Females	252,900	43.9	38.2	61.8
Total	575,500	100.0	45.1	54.9

Table 2. The broad age and sex structure of the African population of (a) Northern Rhodesia and (b) of its ten main towns.

The importance of such information is obvious, and the detailed report on the census will be a most valuable document for Northern Rhodesia's government and for all interested in the country. It is hoped that this census will be the first of a series and that experience gained in this pioneer effort will assist in the development of census techniques in Central Africa. It will be many years before the refined methods of the Western World are practicable, but a start has now been made and progress and improvement should follow.

Social Administration and Education in Africa

by H. Heisler

The importance of the study of social administration to the problems of social progress in emerging countries has received little attention. It seems opportune, therefore, to review what is understood by social administration in England and then discuss its possible contribution to the education and training of Africans. As part of the review of social administration, major differences between this and social work are mentioned and also differences between social and public administration.

The origin and definition of social administration

Poverty, its origins and progressive elimination, have occupied many distinguished people associated with the London School of Economics, such as Professor Tawney, ex-premier Attlee, the Webbs, Lord Beveridge and, more recently, Professor Titmuss. The application of the social sciences to welfare problems by such persons began at the School in 1912 when a Department of Social Science was established with the assistance of an Indian foundation whose object was to promote enquiry into the causes of poverty. This exercise formed an important element in the education of social workers from then on.[1]

In his inaugural lecture, Professor Donnison galloped over the history of the British social services and listed the points that had proved to be of most intererest to social administration. These included: the continuing endeavour to provide the environment required for industrial progress; the defence of the nation against economic and military rivals; the continually rising aspirations of ordinary people; the contribution of the professions to public services; and the continual endeavour to prevent or curtail disruption of the social order.[2] He remarked that the distinctive feature of this subject is "neither its body of knowledge (for much of it could be incorporated in other disciplines), nor its theoretical structure (for it has very little)". Donnison then proceeds to describe social administration as "an ill-defined but recognizable territory; the development of collective action for the advancement of social welfare. Our job is to identify and clarify problems within this terrotiry, to throw new light upon them – drawing light from other disciplines that appear to be relevant – and to contribute when we can to the solution of these problems".[3] Some of the interests of social administration in Africa will differ, but its core will still remain the development of collective action for the advancement of social welfare.

The social sciences can contribute to this in at least three ways. Firstly, as social administration is concerned with the statics and dynamics of society,

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[1] R. M. Titmuss: "Social Administration in a Changing Society" pp. 13-17, in "Essays on the Welfare State", same author, 1958.

[2] D. V. Donnison: "Development of Social Administration" pp. 8-19, Inaugural Lecture, London School of Economics, 1962.

[3] Donnison op cit. p. 21.

the worker in this area needs a general view of society presented in terms of institutions and functions which can be interpreted by means of concepts.[4] Secondly, he needs to understand the interplay between the individual citizen and his environment,[5] so that the interests of the individual can best be served. Finally, the social sciences contribute to an understanding of the processes by which policies are created.

In 1951 the Department of Social Science at the London School of Economics was redesignated the Department of Social Administration. This indicated more than the need to accommodate nomenclature to the innovation of the Welfare State. For half a century it had been realized that an understanding of social and economic relations, and associated human behaviour, was necessary in order to understand social problems as well as the processes of induced and voluntary change which either create them or alter their nature. The study of these subjects is, however, largely of academic interest for the "function of the major social sciences is to accumulate a valid body of knowledge, to develop and refine a consistent theoretical system, and to perfect their methods of study".[6] The relevance of their findings for social action is not the immediate concern of the academics who potter around the social sciences, and so their study by intending workers in the field of social welfare assists them to understand something of the societies in which they will work but no more! Ends for action do not become apparent from the mere study of the social sciences which are regulated by the concern to be objective; subjective stands on the goal(s) of a good society may have to be considered by students of social administration before the means for their attainment can be ascertained. Furthermore, the acquisition of several bodies of theoretical propositions pertaining to each of the major social sciences affords little insight into the devious ways in which social policies are evolved and become implemented. A selective use of the teaching of these disciplines is needed to gain any useful understanding of this. Prior to the redesignation of the Department of Social Science, it had become clear that a study of welfare is an interdisciplinary activity, and after this event it became clearer that it is also concerned with the definition of social goals and the means to be adopted in their attainment.

The relationship between social administration and social work

Social workers are the infantrymen in the field of social work services. Wherever they operate their fundamental concern is a concept of human relationships – their importance, dynamics and their use in the treatment of maladjusted groups and clients. This service is intensive and personal in nature, and to some degree operates in isolation from the general climate of opinion in the United States. The difference in social structure and culture in England, where social work services are provided as a social right of citizenship, marks practice in this country off from the American. United States welfare programmes are sectional and regional, rather than national as in England, and tend to be administered by voluntary agencies, rather than by the public services as is done in England. The source of agency directives, extra political

[4] T. H. Marshall: "The Social Sciences in the Training of Social Workers". International Social Service Review, No. 8, March 1961.

[5] Marshall 1961 op cit; H. D. Stein: "Issue in the Relationship of Social Science to Social Work Education", International Social Service Review, No. 8, March 1961.

[6] Donnison op cit. p. 21.

in the United States and political in England, means that welfare policies are far more uniform in the latter country than in the former.

Because public welfare agencies are so important and have been subject to the main currents of pressure in social reform in England from the sixteenth century onwards, social work in Britain is outward looking and sees its role in relation to the part played by the other social services and the aspirations of the British people expressed through Parliament. American social work, has been less sensitive to such influences due to historical and regional developments and, in a sense, works on the periphery of American society. As a consequence American social work has been nurtured from within the profession and has had to develop its own philosophy. All this has given rise to the specialism of social work administration to sustain such activity. The philosophy of British social work has not been peculiar to itself and is common to British society at large; its administrators have been outward looking and regard social work as only one vehicle to the relief of distress and reform. Consequently, it has become more appropriate to speak of its administrators as social administrators, and the study of its techniques and problems as one aspect of social administration. As a result, a British observer has been able to describe American social workers as "crack frontline workers with little interest in strategy"[7] in contrast to the British. The development of the other social services such as education and health are seen to occasionally merit more, if not separate, consideration. The priorities and balances between the basic social services and the social work services demands constant evaluation and appraisal within the context of each country, which explains the concern of social administration with national planning. It is a virtue of social administration courses, as opposed to those in social work, that holistic and not sectional views of society may be formed by students, and by reason of this they are better able to accommodate themselves to changing circumstances than are students of social work. The holistic teaching of social administration courses takes note of politics and the State as the prime initiating agency for the increase in welfare, unlike American social work its bias towards 'voluntary' and 'spontaneous' activity.

The relationship between social administration and public administration

Public and social administration share many common interests. Both are concerned, for instance, with the management of agencies, problems of staff, line of command, span of control, and so on. In this respect, however, students of public administration confine themselves to public and quasi public agencies, whereas social administration courses consider voluntary bodies also.

The creation of social (or public) policies is also a common subject of study at two levels, though the approach to the second is significantly different. The first approach sees policy as the creation, very largely, of administrative action and investigates the contribution made by administrators at various levels to social policy through the way in which they respond to situations where the resources available to organizations are increased. Policy making and administration are regarded as part and parcel of the same process.[8] Unfortunately, administration and policy making of this kind cannot be effectively taught until there are many more case studies devoted to the study

[7] D. V. Donnison: "The Social Work Profession", pp. 65-66, Conference, III, 3, July 1956.

[8] Donnison 1962, op cit. pp. 22-29.

of actual administrative experience[9] as opposed to the formulation of tight theoretical models.[10] Hence the need for the development of this kind of case-study is urgent for the student.

The second approach to the study of social policy is at a higher or national level. Civil servants, partly through the considerable constitutional and philosophical elements in public administration courses, tend to view policies as responses to a series of alternative forms of political organization, such as totalitarianism or Western democracy, which have been propounded by various thinkers very often as rationalizations of historical circumstances. To some degree political ideas are used as the rationals of political action and organization. On the other hand, students of social administration, while acknowledging the existence and pertinency of much political thinking, regard social and political organizations, with their various activities, as arising from the creation of needs and dependencies by the processes of economic, social and cultural change. They are concerned to diagnose the nature of such dislocation in order to avoid the stresses that are created.[11] The approach of public administration courses to national policy tends to be abstract whilst the social administration courses' approach is more concrete and historical.

This two-level approach to policy evolution, administrative behaviour and national consensus, are complementary. To illustrate, social scandals induced reform in early Victorian England. The success of legislation, which was hastily prepared and crudely formulated with many loopholes, rested mainly on the quality and interest of inspectors and administrators and the manner in which they were deployed and communicated.[12]

The components of social administration courses

The principal components of social administration courses in England reflect this discussion. They are:–

1. The Social Sciences (sociology, economics, social psychology).
2. History (social work and social services, economic, social and political change).
3. Public Administration (this is a social science but is finding new emphasis in relation to the public social services).
4. Social Policy and Philosophy.
5. Techniques of Social Work (a sequence really useful only to those who intend becoming fieldworkers in this area).

To a considerable degree this is applicable to Africa. The major differences here should occur around the subjects of specialization. In England these are usually social work and very occasionally personnel management, specializations which are interdisciplinary exercises in applied social science. Among the many limitations in this form of specialized education, two are of interest to Africa. Firstly, the range of occupations catered for by specialized education which leads on from social administration courses is limited to social casework and personnel management. Lay hospital administrators, labour and trade-union officials and other employment categories which seem to lie within the

[9] e.g. F. M. G. Willson: "Administrators in Action".

[10] D. V. Donnison: "Can Administration be Taught", Case Conference, VII, 7 January, 1961.

[11] M. Milhaud: "The Historical Development of Social Welfare Policy", Publication on Social Change No. 7, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 1957.

[12] O. MacDonaugh: "The Nineteenth Century Revolution in Government: A Reappraisal", Historical Journal, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1958.

social services, and require social science and administration type education, are ignored. We must beware of repeating this mistake. Secondly, British specializations may be called programme orientated and serve to satisfy the expectations of professional organizations. The success of this depends very much on gradual and perceptible changes in the social structure and professional employment situations which can be reflected in the arrangement of the teaching programmes. This has the advantage that very high levels of professional competency are attainable. Unfortunately programmes can only be meaningful and successfully operated if they serve the purpose for which they were conceived. In Africa circumstances change so fast, professional education takes so long, that by the time professional people who are taught a programme approach, as in social work, graduate, their *raison d'etre* may well have vanished. Being rigid in their approach to situations, as a result of their professional education, they cannot adapt and may prove nuisances like the American architect who designs a house in tropical Africa complete with central heating. More flexible, problem orientated personnel are needed in Africa with twin consequences: that the specializations offered within a course in social administration should satisfy the demands of a much wider range of occupations than is the case in England; that in such courses, principles should be taught rather than techniques – which tend to be an outcrop of programmes such as that involving diagnosis and therapy in social work.

Another set of features required in African courses deserves attention. A basic requirement of personnel working at all levels of the social services is that they are very human and relate to other people easily. The qualities of sympathy and understanding of the human situation can be engendered by a study of history as much as by any other activity, and hence this study, in its very broadest and most liberal sense, is very much to be desired. Compassion and understanding may be felt by many individuals who remain relatively ineffective in their work because they lack certain social graces and skills. To a limited extent certain aspects of social casework techniques might help to overcome such difficulties if included in the curriculum during the period of pre-specialist education.

Generic teaching between specializations is a further feature of a course in Africa which has much to commend it. This serves to emphasize the essential unity among the various pecializations; the principles instead of the programmes on which they may wrongly be based; and the possibility of students specializing in industrial relations, for example, working in some planning capacity, which has been the subject of another specialization, after graduation. Flexibility in the development of courses is afforded by such an arrangement and economy in the use of scarce teaching staff becomes possible. The suggested scheme for a course in social administration (at end of this article) comprehends the conclusions of much of this discussion.

What the study of social administration can offer to Africa

Any answer to the question as to what the study of social administration can offer to Africa must lie in two directions: its contribution towards the solution of manpower problems and the help it will give African societies to remain open and egalitarian in spirit.

There are at least three aspects to the manpower problems of Africa: the problem of devising suitable courses, which is discussed above; shortages of educated and suitably trained personnel; and the urgency of these problems

in the light of the withdrawal of many expatriate officers on the achievement of independence and the inauguration of programmes of accelerated change by newly sovereign states. "It should be remembered that the sudden, almost desperate, demand for graduates in Africa was due to much more than what might be regarded as normal demands in terms of inter-war concepts. There was the vastly increased demand which affected all the world as a result of the sudden growth in the concept of the welfare state with its insatiable demand for experts of every kind".[13] Some 30,000 Africans will have to be trained to man the senior branches of the public service in Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, the Gambia, the three East African countries, and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland[14].

How are they to be educated? Hitherto the nine African universities founded by the unofficial British Inter-University Council have made little impact on the problem. Their admission standards have been modelled on the United Kingdom universities in circumstances where the secondary ladder has not reached high enough to enable a sufficient number of Africans pupils to scale the heights of Advanced Level and Higher School Certificates and fill all the beds in the Halls of Residence. Only one child in a thousand who is at school in Northern Rhodesia can hope to qualify for entrance to British type universities. West Africa is much more fortunate, but the absence of sufficient VI Forms and teachers remains an acute bottleneck.[15] The learning patterns and attitudes of schools and not universities are taken into the higher echelons of the public services as a result of this. The educational ladder is too short to reach the high retreats of 'cultural imperialism' with the consequence that there is a tremendous gap in training facilities. Who or what is to fill this if the British universities decline the opportunity to preserve that sacred cow called 'standards' and the public services are content with in-service training?

The major problem is to devise university type courses for VI Formers. This is not altogether unfortunate, for experience shows that many expatriate graduates in Africa are underemployed in a professional sense and spend much time on work which in Britain would be left to other grades.[16] British teachers working in Africa should recall that it is only in post-war years that the Higher School Certificate and A-level G.C.E. passes have become minimum criteria for entry to degree courses in place of matriculation – exemption from which could be obtained by a good School Certificate. In view of this, it should not be strange that university courses should be taught to students who have not completed more than four years of secondary education.

Courses in social administration will help fill four kinds of need, each of which may be satisfied, to some degree, by courses in government and the like. However, none of these alternatives have the same pertinence for each kind of need.

The quality of individual civil servants must be of constant concern in any country. The nature of their education and their attitudes are clearly contributions to the quality of their conduct and service. As regards the nature

[13] M. Perham: "The Colonial Reckoning", p. 89, the 1961 Reith Lectures, Fontana Library Edition, 1963.

[14] Department of Technical Co-operation: (Bridges) "Report of The Committee on Training in Public Administration for Overseas Countries", para. 14, H.M.S.O., 1963.

[15] Guy Hunter: "New Societies in Tropical Africa", pp. 237-257, 1962.

[16] University of Cambridge Overseas Studies Committee: "Training for Development in Africa", a Report of the 1962 Summer Conference.

of their education, it might be thought trite to remark the need for full courses in place of the much shorter ones which are the components in crash-training programmes. These have to some degree become identified with in-service training which has hitherto been concerned with improving job performance and has regarded the quality and interest of civil servants as given. By contrast, crash training programmes are designed, very often, to affect radical changes in the nature and personalities of men and have been evolved as a substitute for university education. There is a danger that this form of training may persist as the primary form of staff development as long as university education is expensive and government departments are anxious to bend people to their own ways and peculiarities as early as possible. Administrators cannot be trained like nurses and photographers. To teach administration, as is done at Zaria in Nigeria, after the manner in which Dickens' Mr. Squeers kept his school, and to create learning experience for students primarily through the process of doing (though it has a respectable parentage in the Dalton method) has severe limitations at this stage of education.[17] Perhaps the deepest criticism that can be voiced is that the level of performance tends to approximate to that given as a model to students during the course. Another great disadvantage of this is that short courses offer little opportunity to students to gain a full and proper understanding of the socio-economic milieu in which they work and so the quality of their performance is impaired. Long courses designed to assist the understanding of the circumstances in which change takes place, its many facets, and some of the various ways in which its course can be controlled are indispensable.

The professional nature of the work of administrators is not recognized often enough. Professor Robson wrote that the "official is less concerned to administer the law than to promote the energetic and far reaching projects based on plans which he himself must create".[18] This activity is entirely professional for the essence of professionalism is the ethical code of practitioners which induces them to give not a standardized and skilled service as much as themselves.[19] This aspect of the attitude of administrators is considered at many points in courses in social administration. Such attitudes must be distinguished from the education promoted by professional organizations which seek self-identification with the result that, as the supposed knowledge of the professional group advances, the relation of professional worker and customers "tends inevitably to a benevolent or paternalistic dictatorship by those who possess the accepted knowledge".[20] Such attitudes must be intolerable in Africa which is trying to shake off the mantle of paternalism left by colonial provincial administrations. Social administration offers a reinterpretation of professional education which accords more closely to its needs than traditional professional education.

Secondly, and more briefly, social administration courses make indigenous education possible for minority groups in the public service. They are generic in the sense that they are suitable for a variety of public servants (co-operative

[17] A. H. M. Kirk-Greene and J. H. Smith: "Administrative Techniques, A Suggestion for Administrative Service Training Curricula". Journal of Local Administration Overseas, Vol. 1, No. 3, July 1962.

[18] Quoted by T. H. Marshall: "Recent History of Professionalism", in "Citizenship and Social Class", same writer, p. 146, 1950.

[19] Marshall 1950, op cit. p. 147.

[20] B. Keith Lucas: "The Political Theory Implicit in Social Casework Theory", pp. 1090-1091, American Political Science Review, XLVII, December 1953.

inspectors, labour officers, social workers, local government officers not employed in specialist capacities like auditors and valuers, administrators of health and medical services, school managers, etc.) with a consequent economy in the use of scarce lecturers and money. The number of labour officers and co-operative inspectors required by a country may be insufficient to warrant the establishment of separate local courses, but becomes possible if common education is devised.

Thirdly, an implication of the preceding point, the staffing of the public services becomes easier if its main cadres have graduated from courses in social administration. Transfer of officers between ministries becomes possible at all senior levels if their education and training is similar. The public service of no African country is so large to ensure that within each ministry there are officers suitable for every post. That is to say, ministries are relatively small and the choice of personnel, if this is restricted to a ministry, is strictly limited. Common education contributes to the creation of common attitudes and makes teamwork and inter-ministerial co-operation smoother and more of a reality.

Lastly, courses in social administration fill a need in relation to planning and induced change. This is because it is involved with the many sides of this process, with its ends as much as the means to be used in their attainment, the viable economic base needed to make the good society, and so on. Too often schemes of change are retarded by the failure to consider all the facets of the problem and the neglect of socio-cultural factors. And most rarely is heed given to the implications of the adoption of various plans. Most important perhaps is the distorted emphasis on quantitative and measurable change which fails to develop individual personality. For example, one expert urges that "having estimated the manpower needs, the next step is to direct the whole educational system to fulfilling them and to involve the teachers, consciously or not, with the idea that they are the shock troops in the national economic effort rather than men trying to bring out the varied personal qualities of children and fit them for life in the community".[21] Concerns such as these are integral features in social administration.

There is the hazard that such ideas may be seen as novel and that the framework in which social administration has been studied will be ignored in the evolution of a new 'science of development'. Centralized national plans are the concern of an age rather than a subject and their roles, forms, and ends will be unique within each national context they operate. The repetition and simplication which contributes to scientific theory is not amply documented nor is its variation within different societies known with the precision which lends itself to theory making. Old wine may be poured into new bottles and its quality lost. Students of social administration have long given attention to the 'relationship between economic development and other fields, such as social welfare, public health, education and administration' and yet it is suggested that these interests are recent and proper to courses in national development planning, to be taught, it is presumed, by a new breed of academic specialists called 'planners'.[22] The *zeitgeist* evokes new interests in the study of planning machinery and goals but this is an emphasis which should be accommodated within the confines of existing areas of study rather than relegated to another mongrel infant.

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[21] Hunter, op cit. pp. 268-269.

[22] A. F. Leemans: "Training for Planners", in Cambridge Summer Conference, op cit. p. 12; see also Bridges Report op cit. paras. 83-88.

The contribution of social administration to training and education in Africa

The distinction between training and education is not hard and fast and therefore it would not be unusual to urge that many of the training needs of Africa, which can be fulfilled by social administration programmes, should be integrated into basic educational programmes at the universities. Among their many tasks and problems, two in particular will be noted: the turmoil of Africa and the university contribution to the search by African societies for identity and philosophy; and the lack of support given to the study of the humanities.

Over the centuries it has been the task of universities to foster enquiry about the nature of the universe and particular societies, and it falls to them to perform the same service in Africa. Not that this can be done in isolation; as always, university faculties must take guidance and inspiration from society at large and the feelings and aspirations of charismatic leaders in particular. Their task, like so much else, is urgent: "African society is in turmoil of moral and social doubt; it is between Christianity, Islam and the higher forms of African traditional religion, and assailed as are our own society by agnostic or Marxist views of the world. On the social side, it is between the traditional culture of family obligations and the Western pattern of individualism in self-development and expression".[23] On the political side, tribalism and nationalism are violent disintegrative forces which can be offset by the understanding that is engendered if their nature is revealed to participants. The social science sequence of a social administration course offers much in this respect for the whole purpose of the social sciences is "to increase and deepen our knowledge of human society, in its various manifestations, and an increase in knowledge must necessarily increase understanding".[24] The creation of new beliefs and guidelines for action must take place in Africa, but this will take a long while. Long range theories of society are being explored[25] and they suffer, as do all similar theories, from a high level of abstraction necessitated from the need to encompass so much. It is apposite, but hardly original, to plead for the placing of those stepping stones in the middle-distance which will offer some more immediate certainty and direction to change.[26] It is very much with these that our subject is engaged.

In the desire to force change at a pace hitherto unprecedented in world history, the humanities are being pushed aside in favour of more practically directed studies. This is due to the imperatives set by the need to change societies by the exploration of technology; the formation of ideologies which demand slogans rather than thoughts and rallying cries rather than ideas; and the failure of British imported education into Ghana, for example, which ignored for a long while Ghanaian or African economic history.[27] It seems naive to be complacent about this and "trust that this will not result in the content of education, as distinct from training, becoming permanently vocational, even if a temporary loss of balance has to be accepted".[28] Practices become institutionalised and gain their own rationality and there is no certainty

[23] Hunter, op cit. p. 266.

[24] T. H. Marshall: "International Comprehension in and through Social Science", p. 4, L.T. Hobhouse Memorial Lecture No. 29, 1960.

[25] See for instance W. E. Abrahams: "The Mind of Africa", 1962, and the speeches of M. Leopold Senghor and M. Mamadou Dai.

[26] T. H. Marshall: "Sociology at the Crossroads, and Other Essays", Ch. 1, 1963.

[27] Hunter, op. cit. p. 267.

[28] Cambridge Summer Conference, op. cit. p. 49.

that the balance will be redressed in a generation or so. Hence it becomes essential that the social sciences, whose relevance to society is more easily appreciated than the humanities, become a source of liberal education. There is yet no substitute for a university life that is conducive to attitudes among students that will make them responsible, sympathetic, critical and fit to lead their countries. Vocational education with its stress on the acquisition of skills rather than the development of the all-round personalities of its students cannot hope to achieve this.

It has been reported that the Americans train their military officers on the presumption that the form and content of training will largely be responsible for the kind of officers who graduate, whereas the British hold that man is less plastic and that the best that training can do is to modify and reorientate attitudes and generally assist officer personnel to make full use of talents which have been innately acquired. Rather than being distinct approaches, these represent differences of emphasis which has considerable bearing on our evaluation of education. The writer inclines to a British-type view that the capacities of administrators, economists and the like are innate and cannot be acquired through education. It is very likely, furthermore, that many of the qualities required in teamwork and for leadership are not acquired in the library nor lecture-room but are more likely to be learned in extra academic activities, in debating societies and student committees, than from within the confines of a carefully charted course of study. Nevertheless,[29] a well planned course and good teaching will sharpen native intelligence, exercise it within the area of some discipline and encourage it to pose relevant questions, with the consequence than an economist is far more likely to be effective in an administrative situation, for instance, than an administrator whose education has not been in the social sciences.[30]

The major justification for the teaching of social administration can be couched in terms similar to those used by Professor Willson in his enquiry "Why Study Government?" He argues that the study of government will make men more politically conscious, wary of inefficiency and injustice, and contribute something to the working of free societies.[31] The political state of a society is partly a function of its material base and social structure and it is in its enquiries among these three complexes that social administration lives and earns its justification. Freedom in any society can be expressed only completely in political terms. The distribution of economic and social power and the rising aspirations of men and women need to be kept under review in the progress towards the ideal society. The quality of new societies in Africa is very much dependent on this exercise.

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[29] F. M. G. Willson: "Why Study Government?", pp. 22-24, an Inaugural Lecture delivered at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1962.

[30] A. K. Cairncross: "Factors in Economic Development", 1962.

[31] Willson, op cit. pp. 24-27.

A Possible Course in Social Administration

Possible Graduate Employment 1	Majors 2	Choice 3	General Topics 4	Specialisation Content 5	Duration 6
	Social Science	Nil	History Economics Public Administration Sociology Psychology Philosophy Social Casework Fieldwork (1 vacation)		18 to 24 months
Social Workers, Co-operative Workers, Local Government Administrators	Community Development	One of Three Alternatives	Ethics Research Administrative Behaviour Group Dynamics Fieldwork (1 or 2 Block 3 month placements)	Principles and problems of community development	18 to 24 months
Social Workers, Central and Local Government Administrators, Extension Workers	Planning			Principles and problems of Planning	
Trade Unionists, Managers, Personnel Officers Labour Officers	Industrial Relations			Principles and problems of Industrial Relations	

Northern Nigeria Assignment[1]

by T. W. Sowerby

As I look out of my office window on a grey English late-January day I find it hard to believe that barely a fortnight ago I was enjoying the heat of a Nigerian winter and on the last lap of a three months' assignment in the sun. The adventure commenced last June when I received a letter from the Department of Technical Co-operation asking me if I would be interested in carrying out a financial review for the Northern Nigeria Government. I was; my Council had no hesitation in giving me leave of absence, and after the Northern Nigeria Government had approved my candidature I had a couple of unpleasant encounters with an inoculation needle before leaving London airport on September 30th.

My six-hour trip was a wonderful post-war experience for me as I had done very little flying since leaving the R.A.F. in 1946, and we landed at Kano – for me – all too soon. I then became aware of the efficiency of the D.T.C. (whose Mr. Wallis welcomed me at Kano airport) and of the British Council, who took me under their wing until my plane left for Kaduna next day. I was met there by a representative of the Ministry for Local Government and taken to my room in the Catering Rest House. As October 1st was Independence Day I took part in the celebrations and met a large number of the Northern Nigeria political leaders at State House. My assignment had really begun. It was also raining heavily!

After completing the necessary signing-in formalities I met the men who for the next three months were to become my colleagues and friends, men particularly like Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki, Permanent Secretary, Ministry for Local Government and his staff. Quickly I was installed in my office and even more quickly I was told just what was expected of me. I had to carry out a review of native authority finances, an inquiry into the tax relationships between the regional government and native authorities, an examination of the problems posed by a non-contributory pensions scheme, a scrutiny of proposed expenditure on capital development and its method of financing and a look at the possible extension of native authority insurances. A re-appraisal of the grant structure was added very quickly to this task. No one suggested in so many words – at least in the early days – that three months was hardly long enough for this operation but I gather I received many silent tributes of sympathy.

I must say immediately that during my stay in Nigeria I received the utmost co-operation from everyone in the other Ministry departments with whom I came into contact. Nowhere was this more marked than in the Ministry of Finance, where the Under Secretary did far more to help me than could reasonably have been expected from him. Here once more I made a close personal friend.

[1] At the request of the Northern Nigeria Government for the advice of an expert on urgent local government finance problems the Department of Technical Co-operation, as part of its technical aid scheme, obtained the services of Mr. T. W. Sowerby. This article is a brief account of his three months' visit, of his impressions of the country and its peoples and of the reception he was given in the course of making his study and report.

Mr. T. W. Sowerby is the Treasurer of the Borough of Beckenham which generously co-operated by releasing him for this assignment.

The organization of my trip was done for me – with my blessing – by members of the Ministry for Local Government. It consisted of a seven-weeks' visit round the various Ministries in Kaduna, discussing their problems, ventilating new ideas and considering possible solutions, and at the same time giving me an opportunity to put down my initial thoughts on paper. I then undertook a comprehensive tour of a cross-section of seventeen native authorities in Northern Nigeria, from the largest to the smallest, from the most efficient to the least and from the most unbalanced, politically, to the most stable. During this tour, which was entirely by road, I covered approximately 5,750 miles through a wide variety of country and along roads sometimes smooth as speed tracks, sometimes wavy and bumpy as a rough sea. My travelling was divided into five parts and I returned to Kaduna after the completion of each trip in order to clarify my ideas and continue my written work.

My visits, usually accompanied by some member of the Ministry for Local Government took me first to Sokoto and Katsina; my second visit was to Ilorin and Minna, with a look at the new sugar corporation at Bacita, an example of a promising new industry being developed by co-operation of Government with private enterprise. My third venture was a solo trip to Kano, Kazaure and Zaria. My fourth journey was to Gboko, Oturkpo, Makurdi, Keffi and Kafanchan, and my final trip was to Jos, Potiskum, Bornu, Bama and Gwoza, where I spent a fascinating Christmas and Boxing Day as the guest of the Government's project manager there, his wife and their two small children. On my return to Kaduna from Gwoza I found to my horror that it was December 30th and that my assignment was nearing its conclusion. Time had always been against me but at the expense of some coherence in the body of my report I was able to complete it and hand it to the Minister for Local Government less than two hours before I had to leave Kaduna on my journey home.

Since my return I have been able to reflect on the many kindnesses shown to me by so many of the Emirs, native authority Councillors and other officers. Subject to transport difficulties all my wishes were met and no question seemed to be too much trouble to answer. The quiet pride of the Northern Nigerians impressed me, as did Kaduna itself. I found it a city of contrasts. Wealth and poverty walk side by side and the beggar solicits 'dash' outside the most expensive store I have ever visited. Modern buildings of shining white concrete looked strange beside the straw and mud-built Nigerian homes. The new eight-storey Hamdala Hotel (Northern Nigeria's pride) looks haughtily and loftily down on its single-storey, noisy, brothers. A Nigerian worker can support himself on two or three shillings a day; £6 a day will hardly suffice to sustain a traveller staying at the Hamdala.

My visits to the native authorities followed, by and large, a pre-determined pattern. Where possible I was presented to the Emir and his senior advisers: these meetings always thrilled me. Then I met the Native Treasurer, the Councillor for Finance and (often) the Waziri. On several occasions a special meeting of the native authority finance committee was summoned for me in order that I could see local government at work and experience the pleasure of talking through an interpreter. These meetings were of immense value to me and I learned something from every visit.

But what of the difficulties of Nigeria? All nations have a development problem on their hands but when this goes hand-in-glove with the process of building up a new nation, with an inadequate industrial capacity, a lack of first-class roads to transport surplus agricultural produce, insufficient education estab-

lishments and, above all, a shortage of money to carry out the thousand and one necessary schemes which form part of the development programme, then the task of a country in this position is great indeed. The first essential is to see that for every £1 of tax received and spent a pound's worth of value is received. It is easy to sit at home and think about taxable capacity, economies of scale, stock exchanges, long-term contracts, internal financial control, external audit and other concomitants of modern civilization, but it is not quite so simple to fit all these into a country beginning to feel its Independent feet, where technical ability is scarce (but growing, thanks to education rapidly expanding at all levels right up to graduate standards at the Ahmadu Bello University at Zaria), where many roads still consist of dusty laterite which ascends in choking clouds during the dry months and often becomes a sea of mud, difficult to navigate and at times impassable during the wet season, and where agriculture is pursued with the minimum use of mechanical aids. It is in conditions like these that central administration becomes as much an art as a science.

Having spent many happy hours listening to the unfolding of Nigeria's history as told by Nigerian and expatriate alike I am filled with the greatest admiration for the administrative ability of the men who strive, in their Ministries in Kaduna, to keep the wheels of progress moving slowly forward. It is difficult, partly because of intense pride and tradition among the Emirs and Chiefs and their peoples, partly because of the failure of some of those controlling native authorities to appreciate and tackle the problems involved, to get home to the average Nigerian the importance of sustaining the momentum which the Regional Government has started. Patience, faith, tact and understanding are needed in large measure (or so it seemed to me); central controls must be applied firmly and speedily and above all native authorities must give maximum co-operation to the government in performing those tasks laid upon them by law, and in carrying out the expansionist plans determined by government as being essential to permit the future development of Northern Nigeria.

As I continue to gaze out of my window – and a very weak sun is now palely streaming in – a host of memories floods my mind. Oddly enough, the hard work of the tour is forgotten and the mosquitoes and sand-flies become a dim memory of tribulation suffered until some mosquito boots were loaned to me. I liked Nigeria immensely. I was distressed when I saw the more obvious cases of poverty, the begging which seemed so prevalent, the leprosy and elephantiasis. I admired the physique of the average male Nigerian and the carriage and beauty of many of their women-folk, the magnificence of the Fulani female in particular. I became silent at the dignity of the primitive hill pagans above Gwoza and I was happy to see their warmth of welcome to my friend and companion, who had been District Officer with them years ago.

What other memories do I recall? My audience with the Governor, His Excellency Sir Kashim Ibrahim; the beautiful trees and shrubs; the praying mantis, countless legions of ants, colourful birds and butterflies; the noise and bustle of the 'Sabon Gari' markets; the sun peeping over the Gwoza hills at 7.15 a.m. on Christmas Day, at a height of 500 feet at the near commencement of a climb; the lofty eminence of the Jebba Rock on the Niger; the huge herds of Fulani cattle being driven by young boys to Lagos and death; the tulip trees, poinsettias and mangoes outside my office; Lugard Hall in Kaduna; the bougainvillaea bush outside the Catering Rest House at Maiduguri; the magnificent furniture in the Premier's Residence at Sokoto and the sight of the game birds with their wings etched by the setting sun as they flew over the *fadama*

outside Sokoto; the blazing red *kariya* bushes in Katsina; the successful strike of a hawk against a cobra; the slinking form of a hyena caught in car's headlights; the scavenging properties of the vulture; the sunset in Kafanchan; the native architecture in Tiv, the majesty of Jos and the beauty of the hill station there; the leopard hills of Kazaure and, once again, Christmas in Gwoza. A poignant memory was the reception of the news of President Kennedy's death while I was addressing the Ilorin Finance Committee. The expressions on the faces of the Nigerian Councillors when they appreciated the gravity of the event was something I will never forget.

My happiest and most humorous moments? I recall when for a brief period of fifteen minutes I was presumed to be the Syrian Ambassador in Kaduna, but the full story must remain untold; my lectures at the Institute of Public Administration in Zaria, where the hospitality rendered to me by the Director and his official staff was probably more than I deserved; my many hours of pleasant listening to the classical music of one friend and colleague, and the numerous discussions with another – over a brandy and ginger ale or cup of tea – on the composition and progress of his *taki* heap. I also hope a third friend will not be offended if I remind him of the time when, sleeping in bush conditions in Kafanchan and at 5.30 a.m., he was donning numerous extra garments as a protest against the cold while I remained snug and warm under my single sheet and only drowsily contemplated pulling a blanket over me! Finally, may I dare mention the farewell party when I entertained sixteen of my friends and succeeded in reducing the efficiency of the Kaduna Ministries next day (my last)?

Now I am back in my middle-aged shell, with many coloured slides to remind me of my assignment. I will long be grateful to the D.T.C. for giving me the opportunity to do something which, a few short months ago, was only a pipe-dream.

Community Development in Nigeria[1]

by R. E. Wraith

Definitions of 'community development'

When discussing the subject of 'community development' it is unavoidable to spend some time defining just what is meant by the expression because since it came into use some fifteen years ago it has been used widely and loosely. People having a conversation about community development may be talking about different things, or using different words to describe the same thing. In such a conversation one may hear them speaking of 'social development' and 'social welfare', and wonder if these all mean the same thing. Moreover, some of them may talk as if community development was a definite activity, which could be isolated from other activities and which should be promoted by a special kind of officer called a community development officer; while others are talking as if it were a particular kind of approach to *any* activity, which should be practised in the ordinary course of their work by an administrative, educational, agricultural or any other kind of officer whose work is ultimately connected with development – which means nearly everybody.

During these fifteen years innumerable conferences have been held, locally, nationally and internationally, at which these meanings have been discussed and debated. Fine distinctions have been made and deep subtleties have emerged; books have been written which are so profound and philosophical in their treatment of the subject that it is sometimes difficult to connect them with the actual practice of communal development, which usually means getting hot, dirty and uncomfortable in the performance of elementary tasks. It cannot be said that much agreement has emerged from this welter of talking and writing, and the strange thing is that the people who are best at promoting community development are often the worst at talking or writing about it; indeed, some of the very best are not aware that they are engaging in community development at all, and would be astonished if told that they were. It differs from other activities of government in that it calls for qualities which cannot to the same extent be instilled by training, or acquired by taking pains. Provided a man is intelligent he can acquire the qualifications of an income tax inspector, or an establishment officer, or even – at a minimum level – of a field administrative officer; but he will not be good at community development unless he possesses some more elusive qualities – a vocation, which I think our American friends would call a motivation, to identify himself with humble and ignorant people, to work alongside them, and to lead them unobtrusively without appearing to lead them at all – for one thing at least is common to all the various definitions and interpretations of community development, and that is that it is rooted in self-help.

Which brings one back to definitions. It has already been suggested that these are somewhat arbitrary, but I depend for my authority on those used at a Conference held almost exactly nine years ago, in August, 1954. This was a conference by the Colonial Office for what were then British colonial territories,

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[1] Adapted from the text of a talk delivered at the Institute of Administration, Zaria, at a conference on development planning in local government, in September, 1963.

and at which all three regions of Nigeria were represented. It is usually referred to as the "Ashridge Conference on Social Development", after the name of the place in England where it was held.

The definition which this Conference gave to the expression 'Social Development' was in fact so wide as to be almost meaningless – "nothing less than the whole process of change and advancement in a territory, considered in terms of the progressive well-being of society and of the individual". They thought it worth making, however, because at that time – things may have altered since then – the members of this Conference coming from colonial territories all over the world were acutely conscious of the evils of 'departmentalism' and the lack of co-ordination between the various departments which were trying to improve the standard of public health, of formal education, of mass literacy, of agriculture and so on. They could see various departmental officers doing excellent and devoted work, but they could not see a guiding hand or a guiding spirit, so that departments sometimes worked against each other, sometimes duplicated each other and sometimes used different emphasis or contradictory methods in their extension and educational work. Development, the Conference thought, lacked a philosophy. "Social development", they said, "is not just the sum of developmental activities carried out by those agencies usually grouped under the heading "Social Services". It covers and informs the economic, social, political and cultural fields". Social development, then, is an attitude of mind which should be common to everyone in the public service; it is not so meaningless as it sounds when we remember that quite different attitudes of mind have governed the rulers of Nigeria at different stages of its development. At one time it was the mental attitude of pacification or conquest; at another of the *Pax Britannica;* at another of the growth of political institutions and political independence; at another of economic, and especially of industrial growth; we are concerned here with the mental attitude of social development.

When the Conference came to define 'community development' it got down rather more to brass tacks and adopted the following meaning:

> "Community development is a movement designed to promote better living for the whole community with the active participation and on the initiative of the community".

Two things are worth noting about this definition. First, that it is all-embracing; "better living for the whole community" obviously involves the work of engineers, agriculturalists, health officers, co-operative officers, local councils, indeed everybody who ever ventures outside a government office; it underlines the point that social development means team-work and that community development is one of its most important agents. The second thing worth noting is the final words – " . . . with the active participation and on the initiative of the community"; about the first few words there can be no dispute, since no activity could reasonably be called community development unless the community was actively participating in promoting its own welfare; whether we need depend on the community always "taking the initiative" is another matter; there may be some communities which are so apathetic, or so ignorant, that they would never take the initiative about anything; and whether they can be said to be taking the initiative because some skilful community development officer is pushing them from behind is open to question!

Indeed, one might go further and ask whether something which depends on local initiative can be promoted from outside, by the Government or anybody

else, since people cannot be made to be spontaneous. This definition has since been improved, and the following is as good as we are likely to get:–

"Community development is a movement designed to promote the voluntary participation of the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative; and the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self help and mutual help, and make these more effective."

Anyway, these definitions establish the fundamental importance of self-help in the matter we are discussing, and perhaps we should not split hairs on a subject over which too many hairs have already been split.

Finally, 'social welfare' is described as being primarily remedial, concerned with the handicapped and the unfortunate; it has in practice been a good deal concerned with delinquency, its cause, prevention and cure, but has reached out into such fields as the social needs of youth and the special problems of the broken home. Almost by definition it is an urban rather than a rural phenomenon, for the social evils which it tries to combat, and the social needs that it tries to satisfy, though universal, are far more urgent in towns and cities than in villages. One might add that community development, *per contra*, has a rural rather than an urban flavour. Neither is exclusively urban or exclusively rural, but it is obvious where the natural balance lies.

So much for definitions. Now, so far as is possible the central subject, community development, can be discussed, with a side glance at its present urban counterpart social welfare; though it is worth emphasizing that the latter is still largely in the remedial or 'first-aid' stage. Urban community development in the more positive sense of building communities where natural community does not exist, or has broken down, lies largely in the future, and no attempt will be made to do justice to it in this article.

Is community development a normal or a special activity of government?

As already suggested, this is a subject which has always been surrounded by controversy. For the purpose of this article the central controversy is whether community development is a normal, or a special, activity of government. Should all officers of government who work in the field, whatever their particular line of business, be trained in the community development approach, or should there be specialists and experts? Should the central organization – since we cannot avoid one – be a loosely knit affair in which government officers may learn the latest techniques of extension work, or should there be a special department, with a programme and a budget?

In countries like Nigeria there was often a strong bias in favour of the first approach. It was common, some fifteen years ago, to encounter the expatriate District Officer who complained, not unreasonably, that he spent his professional life in trying to help people in villages to be healthier, cleaner, richer and happier; if there were new ways of achieving these objects he would be delighted to hear about them; but why should a new kind of animal – a community development officer – butt in on what he himself was supposed to be doing. It was indeed certain District Officers in the Eastern Region of Nigeria who first gained this country a considerable reputation in the outside world, through the film 'Daybreak in Udi', this was all done in the normal course of duty. Similarly and more recently, local councils have been known to say that their functions under the law allowed them to do everything that could possibly

be called community development; why therefore must there be community development teams or committees organized alongside, and sometimes in conflict with, them? The relationship between community development and local government has to some extent been 'ironed out' by now, and a working arrangement arrived at, but it is not always easy, either in theory or practice to define the relationship in precise terms.

These questions have been answered in a number of different ways. Two satisfactory, though completely different, answers may be quoted from Ghana and Uganda.

In Ghana a small department, originally concerned with emergency housing, was expanded to embrace social welfare in the sense of delinquency services and community centres, but in the early 1950s the whole of this activity became part of something considerably greater, and a new Department of Community Development and Social Welfare was established, from which has developed a wider range of activities, more closely knitted together by a departmental philosophy and plan, than in any other part of English-speaking Africa. These activities have both grown and altered in detail as the years have passed, and have included mass literacy, the production of vernacular literature, well-equipped propaganda and publicity teams, trained village workers and rural training centres, the loan of machinery or skill in places where the local people had first got to work with pick and shovel – as well as the original social welfare work. In this way through most of the 1950s and at the present time, Ghana has organized community development departmentally, with a Director, a very considerable budget and a large staff. Uganda, in the 1950s, adopted a different approach. The Government accepted in principle that the work of all the social service departments, and of all the departments whose effort was directed to improving agriculture and rural betterment, were engaged in community development, and that it should not be isolated as a departmental specialism. They identified the problem as one of *communication*. Departments had the answer to many of the ordinary man's problems, but were not successful in communicating it; still less had they the knack of stimulating the peasant and his family to apply solutions for themselves. They therefore addressed themselves to the task of training teams who could get alongside the man in the bush, speak his language (both in the metaphorical and literal sense), make him see how to help himself and start him on the road to doing so. To take a metaphor from the motor car, community development was the clutch which enabled the departmental engine to fulfil its function of making the car move forward. Community development workers were essentially communicators.

I hope that these remarks so far, which have been intended as a guide through a fog, have not simply increased the intensity of the fog. If community development can mean almost anything it can equally well mean nothing. Perhaps I can best sum up the first part of this article by falling back on Mr. Macmillan's celebrated remark and saying that community development has been a wind of change blowing through the activity of African governments. But the saying that 'the wind bloweth where it listeth' has never been truer than of this particular wind. Let us see in what directions, and with what force, it has been blowing in Nigeria. It has certainly never blown at gale force, as it has occasionally done in Ghana. There have been gentle breezes and long windless periods in the doldrums, and when it has blown steadily it has often confounded the navigator by changing its direction unexpectedly.

I leave these airy metaphors and come down to brass tacks.

Law and the practice of community development

The question has been asked how law and the practice of community development are related. So far as I know there is no 'law' about it. Activities which depend so much on insight, on personal identification and on stimulating initiative cannot be regulated by law; I suspect indeed that some of the best community development, stimulated in early days by administrative officers, was probably illegal. They pinched and scraped a little money from here and there, and spent time with their coats off working with villagers when their masters would have preferred their desk work and their returns to be in better order. Even today, when the pioneering days of a few enthusiasts are over, and when Divisions are set up in Ministries to guide and finance community development, we do not find a Community Development Law in the same way that we find a Local Government Law or a Trade Union Law. We find instead that a number of laws – notably those of Local Government and Education – lay upon Departments or local authorities the duty or the power to do a hundred and one things that will bring about the 'betterment of the people'; if legal sanction for community development is necessary it will be found in such laws; but its real purpose is to translate these many admirable and beneficient laws into reality, principally by helping people to translate them into reality themselves. It was always a weakness of the British in Africa that they thought they had solved a problem by passing a law about it; but who could possibly *enforce* a law about self-help?

I will try to summarize what has happened, and what is happening today, in the three Regions of Nigeria.

Community development in Eastern Nigeria

The Eastern Region has followed the principle that community development should be a permeating influence rather than a specialized activity, and that its principal agents should be the administrative officers in charge of the 30 divisions rather than specialist officers, (though as I shall mention in a moment it is beginning to depart from this principle). Its headquarters establishment is modest – no more than is necessary to oversee activities in the Region in a very general way and to deal with grants-in-aid; it is in fact a small Division of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, staffed by a secretary, an inspector of works, a youth organizer and an executive officer. It thinks of its achievements not in terms of what it does itself but of what is done in the villages under the aegis of half a dozen ministries – but is done better and more effectively because of self-help and communal labour. The most direct contribution that the division itself makes is perhaps through the Community Development Training Centre at Awgu, which was founded ten years ago and which has now been attended by over 3,000 'students' on short courses. But these students are not community development specialists – they may be local councillors, administrative officers, road overseers, county council secretaries, health inspectors, or anybody else whose work takes them into villages. It is impossible to say what they are 'taught', because they may be taught anything; constructing a Bailey bridge or a latrine; caring for a motor car or a baby; building a maternity home or a road. They are, however, 'indoctrinated', if one may use a word which usually has unpleasant associations. The doctrine is that of self-help, and the technique they learn is not only the technique of how to build something but of how to teach and stimulate unskilled workers to build it themselves.

The fruits of this training appear in the Reports of the Ministries of Education, Health, Local Government, Works, Commerce and Agriculture. There is nothing unique, or even remarkable, about any particular achievement. What matters is that things have been done which would not otherwise have been done at all, and things have been done cheaply which would otherwise have cost a lot of money. Most of the schools, teacher training centres, maternity homes and dispensaries have been built with community participation, in cash and in manual labour; 3,000 water points have been installed in the same way and the same is true of the rapidly expanding network of roads and minor bridges. It is here that the Community Development Division makes another direct contribution, by maintaining at its Awgu centre a small staff and a small pool of plant and machinery in order to assist local engineering projects which are too minor for the programme of the Ministry of Works but too difficult for the local councils or village communities; an important result of this service has been the erection of over forty Bailey bridges in different parts of the Region.

Throughout most of the Region the social system and the social tradition are favourable to community development in this sense. Age-grades are still a force in society, and impose on all those born within the same two or three year period an obligation to contribute money or labour for village improvements. Even more relevant are the many family, clan or 'tribal' improvement unions which have grown up during the last 30 or 40 years as a result of emigration to the cities of the West or North. 'Sons abroad' have formed their expatriate unions and have sent money home for development, thus stimulating unions in the villages themselves which have spent the money in useful and constructive ways, and added more themselves. These unions are among the best examples of voluntary organization in Nigeria, and have indeed more achievements to their credit, and enjoy more local respect, than the statutory local authorities; some of them, just as they stand, represent community development in action at its best. This favourable atmosphere, in which people are predisposed to community development, was first exploited by individuals like Mr. Chadwick, of 'Daybreak in Udi' fame, and later by the Community Development Division, and has resulted in a great deal of valuable public work being started. I stress the word 'started' because this Region has learnt, the hard way, that it is easier to start something than to keep it going. A good many roads and buildings have been built in the first flush of enthusiasm only to fall into neglect, for it is more exciting to put up a building than to repair the roof – more satisfying to cut a road through the bush than to fill in the holes after the rains. It is here that local government comes into the picture. Local authorities are not always as good at taking the initiative as the age-grades, the unions or the village volunteers, but they are better equipped, because of their permanence and their statutory powers, to repair, maintain or extend what has been created by the work of enthusiasts.

Although in the Eastern Region emphasis has been placed on administrative officers and amateurs as the field agents of community development, a need for increasing professionalism has been apprehended, and the Division is now recruiting and training men and women who will become what we now have to call 'multi-purpose' workers at the village level, and who will devote their whole time to stimulating community development, but especially in the field of agriculture. The increase of agricultural productivity is one of the principal concerns of this Government, and it is a sociological as much as a technical

problem, since people must be educated to a new system of land tenure and the abandonment of ancient traditional methods if productivity is to be the central aim of farming.

As elsewhere, voluntary, i.e., unpaid, effort is the keystone of community development, but money is needed before it can be harnessed – money for materials, subsistence and unavoidable expenses – and the Division has been able, in a modest way, to prime the pump by making small grants for specific projects; this has been of the general order of £40,000 a year. The result has been out of all proportion to the same amount spent in more conventional ways.

Social welfare in the Eastern Region is the responsibility of another small Division in the same Ministry. For many years its principal concern has been the prevention and cure of juvenile delinquency, and its principal activity a Juvenile Court and Remand Home at Calabar, which has rightly gained international attention. In the last few years, however, horizons have been greatly widened. Not only are similar remand homes being established in all the major urban centres, but a more positive and constructive approach is being made to the social problems caused by the growth of towns, industries and wage-earning employment. The Region has been divided into six "Social Welfare Zones", centering on the principal towns, and in these Councils of Social Service are being established which are tackling not only the social casualties which occur so much more widely than in rural life, but are also seeking ways of fostering in the towns something of the social cohesion of the rural areas, thus making a beginning with urban community development in a literal sense. The Enugu Council of Social Service, established in August, 1962, has been the pioneer; in its remedial work it has tried to promote the welfare of the blind, the old and the young delinquent and to help with matrimonial problems; constructively, it has tried to promote civic pride and to cater for the needs of the urban adolescent.

Community development in Western Nigeria

When we turn to the Western Region we find a certain similarity to the East in what has been achieved so far, but we also find plans for the future, at present in the 'drawing board' stage, which, if implemented, would give the movement a greater impetus than anywhere else in Nigeria.

Fifteen years ago the term community development was used to describe a familiar mixture of somewhat unrelated activities – adult literacy campaigns, juvenile delinquency, youth clubs and construction projects, the last named being guided by 'development officers', an even more than usually elastic expression used to describe men who could turn their hands to almosy anything useful. This has sorted itself out with the passage of time; adult literacy has found a home in the Ministry of Education; urban social welfare in the Ministry of Labour & Social Welfare; while the kind of activity we are primarily discussing today – and I suggest this is significant – is incorporated in the Ministry of Economic Planning; its present name is in fact the Ministry of Economic Planning and Community Development.

The ex-Minister in the Western Region – Oba C. D. Akran was fond of saying that there could be no true community development under colonialism; before self-government it was the work of expatriate 'do-gooders', and had no roots in custom, self-respect, or even enlightened self-interest; paternalism and self-help were, to him, contradictory terms. This is an interesting thesis. I will confine myself to saying that since self-government, and under its new auspices

in the Ministry of Economic Planning, there has been some growth in construction projects carried out by voluntary labour in the villages, and that this has been less in response to the leadership of development officers and more to the traditional obligations of the age-group, the ancient custom of communal aid, and the stimulus of native drumming, music and celebration. The reality has not been as revolutionary as one might suppose; as in the East it has been sporadic, and maintenance has aroused less enthusiasm than the original creation. But it is undeniable that in places a new spirit has been released which is capable of being harnessed to more widespread achievement.

Another parallel with the East is that the community development movement has developed a spiritual base – like the Awgu Training Centre. This is the Shasha River Training Camp, founded in 1956; it has been less specifically related to community development than Awgu, and has not so far provided the same service in machines and mechanics; it has been rather a training college for citizenship, attended over the years by boys' and girls' clubs, scouts and guides, local councillors, civil servants and members of the public.

A matter of perhaps greater interest is the future plan for Western Nigeria, which is bold and visionary. Though the plan is still in the 'drawing-board' stage it is worth drawing attention to it.

The Ministry is convinced of the basic importance of the village, and of the traditional institutions which have their home there; at the same time it realizes that the village is nowadays too small a unit for which to plan either in terms of economics or community. It is accordingly dividing the whole Region into "Blocks" of ten villages, with a Community Development Assistant in charge of each Block – a 'multi-purpose' man, as in the East. A local development plan will be drawn up for each Block by representatives of the ten villages in consultation with an economist, a statistician, an agricultural economist and an agricultural officer; these plans will be co-ordinated at the higher levels of Division, Circle and Region and an authoritative village development plan for the whole country will be launched. The first step, since the best of paper plans is meaningless without people to implement it, is the training of a hundred community development assistants at Shasha River. This is now going forward and a beginning with the plan will be made next year.

It may be thought that this is just another plan to be operated by officials, and need not necessarily be an example of community development at all. Whether this is so or not will of course depend entirely on the quality and training of the community development workers. Their training, under the guidance of two United Nations Community Development Advisers, will not lack a philosophy for it will be heavily charged with contemporary ideas about human relations, psychology and group dynamics. The Western Region is in fact hoping, under United Nations guidance, to produce the multi-purpose village worker who has been the cornerstone of a good deal of community development in Asia and elsewhere; and to produce him moreover in sufficient numbers for one to serve in every ten villages in the Region.

It should be added, in case the impression is given, that everything in the Region lies in the future, that there are at present 48 community development field organizers at work throughout the Region, 40 other assistants and a staff of seven in the Community Development Division of the Ministry; and that the Minister has grant-aided a number of useful communal projects.

To sum up, although the method and achievement of community development is at present broadly similar in the East and West, the West is taking a

bolder step away from the philosophy of 'permeation' and towards one of trained professionalism, based on a master plan.

Finally, a brief word about social welfare in the West. It is the responsibility of a Division of the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (which also includes a Division responsible for sports); and it is concerned again with such matters as probation and delinquency, marriage guidance, boys' and girls' clubs and the 'casualties' of urban civilization. Apart from the fact that its parent Ministry is the Ministry of Labour it follows a familiar pattern.

Community development in Northern Nigeria

Turning to the Northern Region, we start here with a difference which characterizes almost all activities in the Region, namely that the native authorities are more important and influential than in the other regions.

Community development here is protected by yet another 'umbrella' – not Internal Affairs, not Economic Development – but Social Welfare and Co-operatives, which is also responsible, curiously enough, for Labour. But in fact community development has never been put on the map in the Northern Region under that name – the Government's own effort has been directed more to social welfare, which for convenience I will mention at the beginning of this section instead of the end. It has been concerned, as elsewhere, with remand homes, probation and family welfare; has sponsored the professional training of social workers; and has been directly responsible for social work in the cosmopolitan centres of Kaduna, Kano and Jos. In earlier days it was thought by many that social work in the contemporary 'western' idiom would be unacceptable to Muslim thought and practice, but in fact an increasing number of Muslim families have availed themselves of these services; the same kind of work, though in greater volume, has been done by many native authority social welfare services. The Region's current development plan envisages not only an expansion of youth clubs and child and family welfare, but a large-scale invasion of a new field concerned with sport-training facilities, playing fields and the completion of the Ahmadu Bello Stadium in Kaduna.

Turning to community development, the North's avoidance of this term as an activity in its own right does not mean that it has been insensitive to the need. It is however *par excellence* an activity which the Government would encourage through the native authorities rather than through central departmental initiative, and this in fact is what it has been doing. It has approached the matter primarily by encouraging the use of communal labour. Now communal labour can hardly be said to be an adequate interpretation of community development, but it is the necessary *beginning* of community development, and since it also plays such an important part in the more sophisticated programmes of the southern Regions it is worth thinking about it for a moment.

Communal labour has been customary in the history of nearly all societies; in the early days of local government in Britain the parishioners, that is the ordinary people of the parish, could be made by the justices of the peace to turn out and mend the road or build a bridge; today this has vanished in Britain because life has become too complicated for it, and nearly everything needs equipment and must be done by specialists. In Africa the tradition is very recent – in fact it has never changed, though it has for various reasons tended to become unpopular. This is partly because it has been misunderstood, being confused with forced labour, partly because it has been abused, as when chiefs have employed it for their personal advantage, partly because the ideas of

a money economy and the search for paid jobs have discouraged it. But the sensible thing is to continue with communal labour as long as possible, for in this world there are only two ways of getting something done – you do it yourself for nothing, or you pay someone else to do it for you, generally in taxes. If Nigeria had to pay wages for everything that was done to develop the rural areas there would be comparatively little improvement. And not only is communal labour approved by tradition and custom, but it is specifically allowed for in the Constitution of Nigeria, in the Chapter dealing with Fundamental Human Rights – "any labour that forms part of normal communal or other civil obligations" – and in section 120 of the Nigerian Labour Code.

In encouraging communal labour through the native authorities the Northern Government is accordingly relying on the Constitution and the Law as well as on indigenous custom. It is not, as I have said, an adequate interpretation of community development, and in as far as it is demanded under compulsion, as the law and the local regulations in certain circumstances allow, it has nothing to do with community development at all. But in so far as it is the revival or encouragement of an ancient traditional method of getting things done it is a useful starting point. Even the most academic theorists of community development would agree that the words mean nothing until something happens in the way of an improvement, and this is more often than not brought about by manual labour. But the labour itself, and the feeling of achievement that goes with it, can generate a spirit that will lead to further improvements and to the emergence of leadership, initiative and pride; in other words to a real community.

The process needs to be watched and handled carefully. If it amounted to no more than encouraging the N.As to use their legal powers to exact unpaid labour it could do as much harm as good to community development as a movement, for although work would be done which would otherwise have been left undone it could as easily result in sullenness as in pride, in complaints against authority as much as in a sense of achievement.

Conclusion

Before summing up I should perhaps say a word about the Federal Government. Community development is one of those 'residual' functions which do not appear in the Nigerian Constitution, and are therefore regional and not federal responsibilities. The Federal Government is directly responsible only for Lagos, and we find there a fairly long history of urban social welfare. It is grossly inadequate to the needs of this most problematical city, but some groundwork has been done – there is a probation service, a good many youth clubs, a lot of personal welfare work and the nucleus of a staff of trained professional social welfare workers, all co-ordinated through a voluntary Council of Social Service. There is also, in another vein altogether, that unique contribution of the Federal Government to the whole country – the Man o' War Bay Training Camp, now accommodated at Kura Falls on the Plateau. This is not the place to describe it or to assess its total contribution to Nigeria, but we must not forget the stimulus it has given to community development through its effect on all kinds of people from all parts of the Federation.

We do not find, throughout Nigeria, a coherent plan or pattern. A relatively short time ago one would have said that there was no pattern at all, and that community development was a thing of bits and pieces. But a good many minds have now been brought to bear upon it, and many who have believed in it have stuck to their guns in the face of apathy or discouragement – for prejudice

against it still remains. As a result certain areas of agreement have emerged – that a country placed as Nigeria is placed cannot be uplifted only by official action or the expenditure of the taxpayers' money; that a bureaucracy cannot meet all the needs of a developing country; that there are indigenous customs and usages, temporarily overlaid by our modern bureaucracy, that can be re-invigorated and applied to the tasks of twentieth century progress; and that a healthy society is one that does things for itself instead of waiting for an official to tell it what to do. Self-help and communal labour are regaining something of their lost glory, and in doing so are being guided by professional expertise, often acquired in other 'frontier' situations in the tropical and under-developed parts of the world; in the process they are developing a theoretical and philosophical basis. The real value of this intangible and sometimes frustrating movement cannot be pinned within the pages of an Annual Report – indeed annual reports on community development reveal little of the truth about it. All we can say is that Nigeria would be poorer without it.

I conclude with a quotation from Oba C. D. Akran of the Western Region – now its Minister of Finance – taken from a speech to which I have made oblique reference before:–

> "... it seems to me that our concept of community development is quite inconceivable outside the context of the Western idea of democracy. It is one of the paradoxes of our democratic form of life that the freedoms which it guarantees include freedom to be lazy and liberty to avoid hard work. The dangers of these two freedoms are particularly grave in the circumstances of under-developed countries, where the connection between hard work and increased remuneration is neither very direct nor visible nor substantial. There are many more in the catalogue of these dangerous freedoms."

Achieving Mutual Understanding between Elected Officials and Professional Administrators[1]

If conflicts exist between elected officials and professional administrators, a large share of the blame may rest upon those who have inadequately educated professional administrators concerning the relationship between the administrative process and the political process. Conflict does exist, some of which might be avoided by clearer understanding on the part of both politicians and administrators of their respective roles; but many conflicts are inherent in the environment in which the administrator must work.

Sources of conflict

Administration versus Politics? Maxwell Lehman, Deputy City Administrator, New York City, challenged the inference that there is a dichotomy between politics and administration. It is time, he said, to eliminate this myth. The failure of administrators is in not speaking the language of the people; they have too often developed a language all their own. William D. Carey, Executive Assistant Director, U.S. Bureau of the Budget, felt that professional administrators make a fatal mistake if they assume that they are expected to rise above politics. This simple error accounts for most of the friction that exists; we are all brothers in politics, different only in degree. Large numbers of people who have trained for public service have been misled into believing in political celibacy instead of political chastity; he insisted that there is a difference. While there are legitimate differences in the viewpoint of the politician and the administrator, and though there may be no clear line of demarcation, a line does exist.

Personal traits and motives: Much avoidable conflict between politicians and administrators is due to certain personal traits, inaccurate stereotypes, and general lack of understanding of motives.

The Administrator: The professional administrator, William Carey felt, typically looks down on the political type, regards him as an amateur, resents the power he exercises, and considers himself the better public servant. This phariseeism is poorly concealed, and the political official can spot it. It's an almost universal habit of the professional to suspect the politician's motive; he is never in doubt about his own. To most administrators, the political type is stirred by ambition, the easy prey to pressure groups and public hysteria, and dedicated to looking out for Number One through personal publicity rather than for the public interest or the public service. The administrator, on the other hand, cultivates studious anonymity, or tells himself that he does. As a result, the professional approaches the political type very warily rather than with frankness and trust. Carey also sees the administrator's own attitude as a major cause of his failure to understand the politician. Much misunderstanding, he says, is caused by smug, know-it-all professionals who revel in their expertise and their fingertip facts. Out of sheer self-respect, elected officials itch to slap them down, and it is hard to blame them.

[1] This article is copyrighted and permission to reprint is acknowledged to the American Society for Public Administration. It was published as a report in 'Public Administration in an Era of Change', a digest of the 1961 National Conference of the American Society for Public Administration, 1961, pp. 29-32. It was also featured in 'Public Administration Practices and Perspectives', published by the Agency for International Development, Vol. 1, No. 1.

The Elected Official: Roy V. Peel, Director, Institute of Government, University of Utah, observed that the elected official has a different set of standards to the administrator. The politician represents the people, and especially those who have a part to play in his election! Elected officials also have their own different and individual sense of personal values and standards. They may also have a hidden sense of inferiority when confronted with the administrator's background of technical competence. Carey added that the elected official often has a congenital mistrust of the administrator. The legislator, in particular, sees him as fat, dumb, and happy, on the one hand; or as supercilious and excessively secure, on the other.

William J. Ronan, Secretary to the Governor of New York, felt that there are three situations where the elected official has problems with administrators due to their different motivations:

(*a*) How can professional career administrators be motivated to facilitate politically defined public policy and carry out the time-table for doing the things desired by the politicians? Ronan suggests that the administrator may be so expert with a problem that he doesn't want to see it solved.

(*b*) Legislators are particularly wary of the administrator and suspect him of substituting administrative politics for political politics.

(*c*) Politicians are concerned with preserving political parties. When there are few patronage opportunities, they like to bestow little favours – such as low license plate numbers. Ronan wondered if this was not a small price to pay for the preservation of democracy.

The political situation in which the Administrator works

Bernard Norwitch, Executive Assistant to Senator Joseph S. Clark, asserted that it was necessary to be more exact in defining officials and administrators. He distinguished between elected officials – for there are those who appoint the administrator and others with whom administrators have to work. Differences in politics between the official doing the appointing and others with whom that official's appointed administrators must work present special problems. Even when elected officials, such as the chief executive and the legislative majority, are of the same political party, differences in policy and political objectives may exist. Is conflict avoidable? Norwitch said maybe it should be, but frequently the administrator is the middleman between different political factions and may have to,be in a constant position of armed truce.

How does the administrator deal with the opposition party in the legislature? Carey said it is essential to recognize 'loaded questions' designed to stimulate political conflict. Such questions mean trouble for the administrator and there is no way to avoid it. The only feasible action appears to be to answer the questions fairly and objectively, and to discuss it with political superiors. Carey said that the administrator must be loyal to the incumbent administration but at the same time realize that after the next election the minority may be the majority.

Another troublesome problem for the administrator is how to pick from a number of projects with merit when the budget will support only a few of them. Carey's answer was – recognize that these are political questions and leave the decision to political leaders. The same role should be observed by the administrator when a political executive demands programmes that the administrator does not consider sound. Ronan thought that it is a mistake for

the administrator to second-guess the chief political executive. It is the responsibility of the administrator to give the political leader honest professional advice, even if it is not accepted. The politician may have an understanding of the problem even if he is unwilling to do anything about it. Norwitch suggested the existence of 'political lag' – professional administrators are usually far ahead of public opinion and desire but the legislator finds it difficult to move far ahead of popular desire. Ronan commented, however, that there is also 'administrative lag'; often an administrator has been around so long that politically it is difficult to get rid of him when he constitutes an obstacle to desirable and popular policy innovations.

Achieving mutual understanding

The problem remains, however, of how to obtain mutual understanding. Carey suggested that ignorance and apathy lay at the root of misunderstanding. He urged as remedial action, at the federal level, at least a more general exposure of the professionals to contacts with elected officials. It isn't healthy to overprotect the career man from political contact by channelling all Congressional relations through a so-called Congressional liaison officer. Nor is it healthy to conduct legislative business almost entirely by formal hearings with a record; there should be much more informality of exchange. Administrative agencies should put much more emphasis on political factors in orienting and developing career executives.

Steven J. Bercik, Mayor of Elizabeth, New Jersey, from his vantage point as mayor of a moderate sized city, suggested that both the elected official and the professional administrator should consider these simple rules:

The elected official should

1. Specifically set forth the legislative and executive programmes which should be carried out during the fiscal year.
2. Take the professional administrator into his confidence and trust the administrator's professional integrity and impartiality.
3. Brief the administrator on the problems of the city seen by the elected official and suggest possible solutions and ways by which they may be effected.
4. Avoid making detailed administrative decisions or taking action on the basis of political considerations.
5. Build up the prestige of the professional administrator and use him as a spokesman for explaining administrative programmes.
6. Avoid using the professional administrator as a buffer for decisions made by the elected official but which may be contrary to the professional opinion of the administrator.
7. Never show political favouritism to city employees.
8. Free the professional administrator from trivial detailed work, which prevents the city from getting the benefit of his overall supervisory and administrative ability.

The professional administrator should

1. Thoroughly appreciate the elected official's position as an elected representative of the people.
2. Realize that his professional advice may have to be altered to meet local situations.

3. Keep the elected official fully informed of all administrative actions and matters.
4. Take responsibility for administrative actions which are necessary but are unpopular to employees or political factions.
5. Carry out the decisions of the elected official to the best of his professional ability, whether or not he completely agrees with the decision.
6. Give the elected official his opinion on all matters, whether or not he expects the elected official to agree with that opinion.
7. Avoid the public limelight and allow the elected official to take credit for the administration's accomplishments.
8. Efficiently administer the budgeted programme within the appropriations made.
9. Submit all problems in detail with recommendations and alternatives, allowing the elected official to make a decision.

Summary

The achievement of mutual understanding between elected officials and professional administrators depends, in the first instance, on an understanding of the reasons for misunderstanding, and a recognition on the part of both of their mutual and complementary interests. The complementary interests are obvious with an understanding that all administration is dependent upon elected officials who, in turn, must rely upon administrators to translate political decisions into administrative action. The administrator must realize that if mutual understanding does not exist, he won't be long on the scene; the elected official must realize that in the administrator he has an effective instrument for improving his own public image and maintaining public confidence.

Local Government and Community Development in Rural Areas of Papua and New Guinea[1]

by H. T. Plant

Most dependent territories have given considerable emphasis to both local government and community development during the past few years. Activities in the local government field have usually involved not only the fostering of it but also the introduction of measures for its improvement. Many countries have embarked upon community development programmes, often on a national scale.

Local government is relatively new in Papua and New Guinea; the first councils were not established until late in 1950. Now there are 51 councils representing almost 400,000 people; by the end of 1964 there will be 600,000 represented by councils.

By comparison, however, particular emphasis has not been placed on community development and the development and application of special techniques in this field.

Rapid changes have taken place in Papua and New Guinea since the end of the last war accelerating sharply in the social, economic and political fields in the first few years. This development is bringing severe social strain which demands particular effort to interest native leaders – both traditional and the emerging modern types – in progress, to channel their activities in the right directions and alleviate the additional strains on their society. The methods known as 'community development' are now widely recognized as the most appropriate in these situations.

Aims of community development and local government

This concept of community development has been accepted by the United Nations as being "the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress".[2] It may be taken that the improvement of political conditions is implied and it should not be overlooked. Non-official organizations may be united with the people in their efforts to improve themselves. Subject to these reservations, the United Nations definition seems to provide a good basis from which to start.

The aims of community development might be considered to be the encouragement of initiative and active participation by the people themselves in the planning and promotion of their economic, social and political development; the attraction and application of the necessary technical knowledge and

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[1] This article is reprinted from 'Australian Territories', March 1962, with acknowledgement to the Department of Territories, Canberra.

[2] *Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes* (United Nations), 1959, page 2, para. 8.

finance; the creation of community organizations which will provide a framework to ensure the continuity of development programmes; and the development of self-reliant and progressive citizenship.

As distinct from community development, local government has been described as a "political subdivision of a nation or (in a federal system) a state which is constituted by law and has substantial control of local affairs, including the power to impose taxes [or to exact labour for prescribed purposes][3]. The governing body of such an entity is elected or otherwise locally selected".[4]

The aims of the native local government system have been described[5] as:

(*a*) to provide a medium for teaching natives to assume a measure of responsibility for their local affairs in accordance with democratic procedures;

(*b*) to provide area machinery and local funds for extending and co-ordinating social and public services at village level, and hence to enlist active native support in endeavours to raise native living standards;

(*c*) to face the population squarely with the fact that progress is inseparable from good order and industrious habits, and that social services have to be paid for; and

(*d*) to prepare the way for ultimately fitting the native people, in a way they can understand, into the Territory's political system.

Thus native local government and community development aims are closely inter-related, and the local government system has, to date, provided the principal agency for community development in Papua and New Guinea. Native local government certainly has a marked political content but successful community development will also encourage political responsibility.

Any attempt to develop communities must have regard to the existing political framework and care needs to be taken to link activities with the local political authority. But, while community development and local government have much in common, and community development processes can be profitably applied to activities within the scope of local government, they may also be so applied beyond that scope. The normal local government unit involves a number of village groups and very often more than a single social group. Community development is often concerned with a smaller group, enabling it to better itself irrespective of what the council does. Community development is also usually more concerned with utilizing traditional leadership, while local government looks to leaders reflecting an extended range of interests.

Local government is a new form of organization and needs new kinds of leadership. Its very nature requires that it be given statutory powers and functions. The range of these tends to be modelled on those of similar bodies in developed countries (although they need to be substantially modified to meet the circumstances and needs of Papua and New Guinea). Councils need legal means of compulsion in certain matters such as tax payment and council rules; they may be expected to carry out certain functions for the central government which might require the application of sanctions. On the other hand, community development should be largely free of compulsion and

[3] The words in brackets have been deleted from a later definition given on p. 89 of "Decentralization for National and Local Government", see ST/TAO/M/19, 1962, U.N., New York.

[4] Op. cit., page 2, para. 7.

[5] Department of Native Affairs Circular Instruction No. 141 of 4th May, 1952.

although some schemes may involve sanctions there will, at most, be informal ones aimed at ensuring that those who will benefit play their part in them.

Local committees

Although native local government councils usually cover a number of villages there are communal needs of the individual village in relation to which the people are willing to participate voluntarily and directly. It is important to meet such situations within the framework of the local government council. Thus every council member is encouraged to form his local electorate committee which often has some of the traditional leaders as members. This committee should provide a two-way channel of communication between the council and the villagers. Through the member the committee keeps the council informed on village needs and opinions; through his committee the member should be able to keep the villagers informed on what is happening in the council. Ideally, these committees should also provide an organization for voluntary improvement of living conditions within the electorate.

The success with which these committees operate varies from council to council and is largely dependent on the stimulus and support given them by the officer concerned with the supervision of the particular council. The progress made in the Agarabi Council in the Kainantu Sub-District of the Eastern Highlands District is worth considering. When the supervising officer came to the formation of the committees he found that the traditional social organization provided a good basis for determining membership. Each social group within the electorate selected a representative and at least one woman was also selected for each committee. This resulted in the 34 council members each having a small committee. The committees vary in size from two to six members (not including the councillor).

Committee members and elected councillors meet once a fortnight for general discussion and to attend organized classes. Separate classes are organized for men and women. The women attend lectures on hygiene and infant and maternal welfare; the men receive lectures from officers representing the various administration departments. One of the most stimulating features of these fortnightly meetings is the open discussion by councillors and committee members on what they have achieved by village meetings and their future plans. This arouses great interest and stimulates ideas and activities in others who have so far done relatively little on their own behalf. Many improvements have been achieved by voluntary effort and sometimes with or without financial assistance from the council. The supervising officer, Mr. B. B. Holloway, wrote: "I am of the opinion now that one has a more effective means of mass communication through the men and women on the village committees than through the councillors themselves who, because of the assumed nature of their position, do not seem to have the ability to get spontaneous and voluntary co-operation in all those small village projects that count such a lot in raising the general living conditions of the common man."[6]

Thus local government council committees have developed into local community development committees.

Perhaps the Agarabi experience indicates that, initially at least, the traditional elements cannot be completely ignored in council areas, especially when it is unlikely that they will always be elected to council membership. There are, however, indications, even outside council areas, that the position

[6] Patrol Report KAI No. 7—1960-61—B. B. Holloway.

of traditional leaders is gradually being transformed: traditional leadership is not geared to be effective in a developing community. This change is an evolutionary one but the introduction of local government to an area tends to accelerate it. The new powers and responsibilities involved in local government cannot be built successfully on the traditional organization in a changing society. The trend must be towards representative institutions of a new kind.

Native local government covers only some 20 per cent. of the Territory's population. Those areas which, for various reasons, are not yet covered by councils cannot be totally excluded from community development schemes, especially as they are often the areas most in need of it. In such areas there is need to use whatever leadership exists whether traditional or Administration-recognized in the form of appointed village officials. But the planning of community development schemes in these areas must have regard to future council development there. General purpose development bodies, especially if they are reinforced by financial aids from the central government, may usurp the role of local government and work against its eventual introduction. There have already been indications that this sort of situation can arise. The formation of the Hahalis Village Welfare Society on Buka Island in the Bougainville District resulted in the people rejecting local government. This is particularly relevant when it is remembered that the people have the choice of accepting or rejecting local government.

On the other hand, community development schemes can stimulate a desire for local government as has been evidenced in certain areas of the Milne Bay District where a community development approach to agricultural extension has involved the use of village agricultural committees. There is now a demand for local government in these areas, and events have at the same time indicated a need for it. Mr. W. Cottrell-Dormer in discussing the operation of these committees wrote:[7] "In a few cases in the more primitive areas where the new agricultural extension work was the biggest thing that has happened within living memory, they became so filled with their own importance that they cheerfully attempted to take over the authority of the Government-appointed constables and councillors." Further on he added: "Of course where local government councils are set up in an area the old village constable and village councillor organization is disbanded and all of its authority is passed on to the new council. At no time has there been any such friction in local government council areas."

Co-ordination of rural development

Agricultural extension activities have represented one of the few attempts at organized community development in the Territory.

The village agricultural committees were started not only to encourage economic development but also to develop some appreciation and understanding of aims and methods and to provide agricultural officers with an organization through which they could have intimate contact with village communities. Something flexible and informal was required which could be put into operation and be maintained by the people themselves with the minimum of supervision. It was considered that the native local government council was not entirely suitable because the form of its representation is on a population rather than a village or community basis. Although the traditional

[7] *Rural Extension in Eastern Papua.* W. Cottrell-Dormer. A paper presented to an A. & N.A.A.S meeting, May, 1961.

leadership has largely broken down, the totem clan framework still forms the basis of the gardening and working organization within village communities. The new committees were therefore made up of representatives of the several totemic clans. Each committee chooses its own leader. The councils actively supported the formation of the committees as they realized they could be allies in the promotion of the council programmes at village level.

The women soon evinced an interest in what was going on and out of this interest developed women's committees. But these women's activities soon came to include civic, social and welfare matters. The men's committees were encouraged to work in conjunction with the women's committees so that gradually the movement became a community development force. Before long, groups of committees within council areas began to form into agricultural associations.

During this time the councils were intensely interested in what was going on and assisted by employing agricultural instructors who had been trained by the Department of Agriculture. Some council members were also members of committees but there was no direct link with the councils. In 1959, the Administrator appointed a committee to examine this rural organization in Eastern Papua. One of the committee's findings was that there was insufficient co-ordination of the activities of various departments to ensure that this rural development proceeded smoothly. The committee recommended that a district development committee, chaired by the district commissioner and including representatives of the departments concerned with development, be set up. It also recommended that council and committee activities should be co-ordinated. The result was that a council agriculture committee was established. This committee is chaired by the council president and has as members men and women representatives of the council and such agricultural associations as are working in the council area. It meets on the day preceding each council meeting and advises the council of action or assistance which it considers should be given by the council to promote development. This arrangement has been under observation since its inception and reports are most encouraging.

Thus, in the Milne Bay District there has been co-ordination – at both village and district levels. It has developed most successfully and recently the first district development conference was held. It was attended by representatives of councils, men's and women's committees, co-operative organizations and village officials.

It should be noted that all of this has been effected within the ordinary administrative framework such as exists in every district; the administrative machinery has been mobilized and utilized to provide a co-ordinated approach.

Voluntary and paid labour

As previously stated, the individual village or small community often provides a satisfactory unit for voluntary community action. But many of the works and services which a developing community needs or wants must cover a number of these villages. It is always much harder to organize voluntary labour in such circumstances simply because this wider grouping results in a diffusion of community ties, works of this nature often require some degree of technical skill which can only be provided by specialized labour; such projects may call for continuity of effort over a long period. In such cases it is probably more effective to use paid workers. Here local government can play important roles, including the promotion of community development and the application of funds.

There are many areas in the Territory where the people themselves would now prefer to pay rather than to give their time and labour – particularly where cash incomes are increasing and the people are becoming more involved in the routines of cash cropping. "The use of paid labour may be just as much self-help as is voluntary unpaid labour, and may then be properly regarded as community development".[8]

Voluntary work, however, is still important. Sometimes this is assisted by the provision of materials by the council. Even the Tolai people, probably among the most sophisticated in the Territory, still undertake some voluntary effort. For example, to stabilize their water supplies they need wells and underground tanks. In any community requiring these, the people themselves must first do the digging; the council then moves in with the specialized paid labour and the necessary materials and completes the job. Similar examples of this kind can be quoted from most council areas. In the Madang District the Ambenob Council needs feeder roads to the main roads which are a responsibility of the Administration. The people themselves do the initial clearing and forming work; the council then comes in with its paid labour and its transport and carries surfacing material which is spread by the people themselves.

Role of local government in economic development

Community development will often produce a capital asset that requires maintenance or staffing, for example, a school or aid post. Councils are often better geared to provide this than the community at large. Any well conceived development project will have regard to this. Care should be taken, however, that communities are not stimulated to construct works which will not be maintained by anybody or which are beyond the capacity and willingness of either the community itself or the council to maintain. "It is futile or even dangerous to awaken needs before the means to satisfy them are to hand".[9]

Plans for community development often require financial assistance and, where this cannot be provided by local government, it is appropriate that it should be forthcoming from central government. Local governments act as agencies through which central government can channel such assistance to local communities. Councils, as statutory bodies with defined powers and responsibilities and a supervised accounting system, should be more attractive to the central government as agencies than non-statutory bodies. They are also useful instruments of decentralization. It is worth noting here that councils have already shown that they are able to carry out works at less cost than the Administration and standards of construction have probably not suffered significantly in the process.

There can be positive danger in channelling funds for local development through bodies other than local governments, where local governments exist. This can create the appearance of development without taxation and undermine local government. Further, the allocation of development funds should be made carefully to avoid giving financial support to groups antagonistic or apathetic towards local government. "A project, however interesting in itself and however economically complete, which is achieved at the expense of loss of public belief in the local authority system, is of very doubtful value to

[8] *Report of the Mission to Survey Committee Development in Africa.* (United Nations), 1958, p. 101.

[9] *The Communities Project Approach to Economic Development* H. Belshaw. S.P.C. Technical Paper No. 84, 1955.

the community at large".[10]

Local government is intensely interested in economic development. There has been dispute, however, as to just how far councils should exercise economic functions, although it has been policy for councils to undertake very wide economic functions and indeed the *Native Local Government Ordinance* provides for them to do so. Plans for economic development need to recognize that the stimulation of the people to grow crops and their education in their cultivation and care are not enough to ensure success. Attention will also need to be given to marketing, transport and, in some instances, processing and the availability of credit. Co-operatives and rural progress societies have a part to play, but local governments should not be neglected. The Tolai Cocoa Project provides a ready example of how local government can be used for the purpose of processing, marketing and raising credit for capitalization.

Community projects concerned with economic development may have their chances of success seriously lessened because of the existing conditions of land tenure. Permanent tree crops are likely to provide the main form of cash cropping in rural areas, and economic progress based on this form of cultivation requires modification of the traditional tenure system if individual incomes are to be raised effectively. Can local government assist the Administration in its efforts for the improvement of land tenure, thereby assisting plans for community development?

Several attempts in this direction have already been made and, in general, cover three different approaches. The Higaturu Scheme, working through a council rule, secures the right of an individual to plant on an area of clan land which the clan sets aside for his exclusive use. The Ambenob Scheme provides for the individual to obtain a sub-lease from the council of an area of land on which he can plant his tree crops. The council holds leases over a number of areas scattered through the council area. The land involved was originally sold by the owners so that the council could lease it from the Administration; the council carried out subdivision into blocks of economic size. Both of the above schemes are concerned with regularizing land tenure on which tree crops are planted. Subsistence gardening continues to be carried out in the usual way on land held under customary tenure. The third type of scheme is that conducted by the Vunamami Council in the Warangoi area. The council obtained a block of land on lease from the Administration. This was subdivided into blocks which provide for settlers to carry out both cash and subsistence farming on the one block. The idea is that the sub lessees will settle on the blocks. The subleases contain clauses requiring minimum planting of permanent crops.

All of these schemes were conceived and commenced some time ago. In the meantime it has been decided, as a policy matter, that councils will not be involved in land registration or settlement schemes.

All of the foregoing should clearly indicate that there is a close link between local government and community development. "The two tasks are interrelated. Local government and community development must go hand in hand".[11] The success with which the aims of either can be achieved depends largely on the degree to which the activities of the various departments concerned with development can be co-ordinated at the various levels of community.

[10] *Community Development.* A handbook prepared by a study conference on community development held at Hartwell House, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, H.M.S.O.; 1957; page 51.

[11] Rt. Hon. James Griffiths in opening the 1951 Cambridge Conference on African Administration.

Quarterly Notes

UNITED KINGDOM – *Select bibliography on Public Administration*

A select bibliography on public administration has recently been compiled by the library of the Department of Technical Co-operation primarily to assist the new Institutes of Public Administration in Africa.

The bibliography, which contains almost a thousand items, lists books, pamphlets and periodical articles under the following subject headings:–

I Government and Public Administration
II Economic Functions of Government
III Economic Planning and Development
IV Instruments of Government
V Local Government
VI Community Development Programme
VII Administrative Training
VIII Africa

There follow two further sections listing bibliographies (IX) and periodicals (X) concerned with the study of public administration. Full publication details and prices of the items listed are included wherever possible. There is also an alphabetical index to all authors and countries mentioned.

This first edition of the bibliography does not claim to be complete, but it is intended to supplement and revise it regularly. Comments, therefore, on both content and layout of the list would be welcomed.

Requests for copies of the bibliography, which are issued free, should be addressed to The Librarian, Department of Technical Co-operation, Eland House, Stag Place, Victoria, London, S.W.1.

UNITED KINGDOM – *Commonwealth Legal Advisory Service*

Just over a year ago a plan was launched for mutual assistance between Commonwealth countries on law revision to disseminate information on new developments of special interest in law and to arrange for assistance between Commonwealth countries on the preparation of legislation or the study of legal problems. All Commonwealth countries were consulted about the scheme which was generally welcomed.

The scheme is operated by The British Institute of International and Comparative Law in London of which Lord Denning is Chairman and the Director is Mr. Norman Marsh. Mr. H. H. Marshall whom many of our readers will remember as Attorney-General, Northern Nigeria, is assistant Director. The financing of the scheme owes much to the generosity of the Wolfson Foundation.

Much progress has been made with the project and stimulating developments have taken place. The Institute has been able to increase its contacts with the legal departments of Commonwealth countries and the faculties of law at Universities and other legal institutions in the Commonwealth. Many requests for assistance and information have come and the Institute has in turn requested advice and assistance from a number of countries.

Surveys or bibliographies of Commonwealth or common law have been prepared on a number of subjects, including criminal and civil procedure, patterns of legislation at elections, land law and land registration law, including

the Torrens system. With the help of the School of Oriental and African Studies, an expert was sent to one country to record customary law.

The Institute is inaugurating a series of surveys on legal problems of wide interest in the Commonwealth, particularly in its developing areas.

The scheme has released a great fund of learning, experience and, above all, of goodwill.

UNITED KINGDOM – *Establishment of the Institute of Local Government Studies, Birmingham University*

The University of Birmingham has established an Institute of Local Government Studies within the Faculty of Commerce and Social Science to develop study and research in government and administration in Britain and abroad, at the local level. There will also be included those activities of government departments in the field and at headquarters, which relate to the provision of services either through local authorities or in co-operation with them.

Advanced studies will be encouraged by the opportunity given to graduate students to take higher degrees by examination or thesis, or by both, through the Faculty of Commerce and Social Science under the supervision of the Institute. For others, and particularly those with administrative experience, there is a Diploma in Public Administration.

Supplementing these the Institute is providing two four-month courses, particularly for candidates from developing countries. These have been made possible by an initial grant from the Department of Technical Co-operation, arising directly out of the recommendation of the Bridges Committee on Training in Public Administration for Overseas countries. The courses will give students intensive periods of study and discussion at the Institute, in particular orientation on arrival and evaluation before departure, together with supervised attachments to local authorities, appropriate to the needs of each individual. The courses have been compressed into four months to enable Governments to release senior officers. Longer courses can be arranged for those whose secondment permits it.

These courses are intended for responsible officers in Ministries of Local Government; for officials in other Ministries which work through or with local authorities e.g. education, health, etc.; for the principal officers of large councils; for the teaching staff of Universities, Institutes of Public Administration and Training Centres; and for laymen in such responsible positions as members of legislatures, or chairmen of major local authorities and boards.

The fees will have to cover the economic cost of the course, as no subsidy for recurrent, as distinct from initial, expenses is available from U.K. public funds. The *maximum* fee could be £360, but negotiations now in progress may succeed in reducing this figure, which would be further reduced if the number of acceptances exceeded the minimum on which calculations have been based. The course is recognized by the D.T.C. for financial assistance, for which application can also be made through the usual international agencies and foundations.

Full particulars have been circulated to Governments by the D.T.C. and the British Council, but enquiries may also be addressed to:–

The Director,
Institute of Local Government Studies,
The University,
Birmingham 15.

The Institute has a distinguished staff led by the Director, Mr. H. Maddick, M.A., Senior Lecturer at Birmingham University, and formerly Lecturer at Oxford University and Ford Foundation Fellow at the National Centre for Community Development, India. He is assisted by Dr. A. H. Marshall, C.B.E., Ph.D., Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford, who is Associate Director and Senior Research Fellow (from September, 1964) and was formerly Treasurer to the City of Coventry; and Mr. R. E. Wraith, C.B.E., Senior Lecturer and Tutor who has been Senior Lecturer in Public Administration in Makerere College and Ibadan University and former Chairman of the Nigerian Electoral Commission.

TANGANYIKA – *Magistrates' Courts Act*, 1963

This Act represents an important step towards the complete integration of the courts in Tanganyika and introduces a three-tier system consisting of

(*a*) primary courts in each district, held by primary court magistrates;
(*b*) district courts in each district, held by district magistrates and resident magistrates;
(*c*) the High Court.

Primary courts are given jurisdiction in civil cases where customary law or Islamic law is applicable, with certain exceptions, and also limited criminal jurisdiction. A basic code of criminal procedure for primary courts is scheduled.

There is provision for appeal on normal lines and powers of revision are granted to the District Court and the High Court. In customary civil cases the High Court is to sit as a divisional court composed of a High Court judge and an associate judge who should be a person who has knowledge of customary law.

Other points of special interest include provisions that no advocates or public prosecutors will be permitted to appear in a primary court at present. Jurisdiction in civil matters and certain laws is confined to what are called civil magistrates, who are usually resident magistrates. All district magistrates and resident magistrates are given the same power of punishment.

Full-time primary court magistrates are substituted for part-time local court holders and provision is made for the appointment of justices of the peace with limited powers to enable them to keep the peace.

The Act sets out the cases in which customary law applies, and this provision includes certain cases where the parties or one of them are not members of a "customary law community".

Provision is made for the control and protection of primary court magistrates.

KENYA – *Graduated Personal Tax*

Agreement was reached for the provisions of the Kenya Constitution relating to the imposition and collection of graduated personal tax to be amended in the following respects:–

(*a*) Where a person is resident in one local government area but employed in another (whether in the same Region or not) the tax should be collected by his employer at the rate fixed for the area of employment. The employer would pay the tax to the local government authority of the place of employment and that authority would then be required to remit it to the local government authority of the taxpayer's residence.

(*b*) Where a taxpayer has a residence in more than one local government authority area (whether or not in the same Region) e.g. where he himself resides in one place but maintains a wife and family in another, the tax which

he pays should be divided in equal shares between the local government authorities concerned.

(*c*) A married woman's income should be regarded as that of her husband for the purpose of this tax.

(*d*) Even where a person pays tax to local government authorities in more than one Region the total tax which he pays in respect of any calendar year should not exceed 600 shillings or such greater amount as the Kenya Parliament may prescribe.

KENYA – *Local Government Staff Commission*

Agreement was reached for the Kenya Constitution to be amended to provide for the establishment of a Local Government Staff Commission which would consist of one member appointed by the President of each Regional Assembly, one appointed by Nairobi City Council, two appointed by the Association of Local Government Authorities of Kenya, and three by the appropriate Minister after consultation with local government staff associations or trade unions.

This commission would manage the staff provident fund of any local government authority: assist in the recruitment of staff for any local government authority which so requested; advise on all matters relating to the salaries and other terms and conditions of service of local government staff if so requested by the Central Government, the Regional Assembly, or the local government authority concerned; arbitrate, if requested by the parties, in any dispute between local government authorities and local government staff associations or individual local government officers; and, if so authorized by a law made by the Kenya Parliament in the case of Nairobi City Council or by the Regional Assembly in the case of any other local government authority, appoint, promote and discipline the staff of the local government authority concerned.

UNITED KINGDOM – *Adaptation Course for O.S.A.S. Recruits*

A three-day course to brief men and women, recruited by the Department of Technical Co-operation to serve in East Africa in a variety of posts, the majority as teachers, was recently held at the D.T.C., Eland House, in London. The object of the course was to give them a better knowledge of the social, political and constitutional background of the countries in which they would be serving, so that they could adapt themselves more easily to their work in the public service of the overseas governments. Those on the course came from various parts of Britain and were to take up their appointments in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika under the Overseas Service Aid Scheme. This Scheme, which is administered by the D.T.C., is designed to enable Britain to assist newly-independent countries and dependent territories to meet the cost of employing and retaining in their public service the qualified and experienced officers of whom they stand in need. The course, numbering about forty men and women was addressed by Sir Andrew Cohen, Director-General of the D.T.C. and the High Commissioner for Uganda, Mr. T. B. Bazarrabusa.

WESTERN NIGERIA – *Departmental Instructors' Course, Ibadan*

An inaugural course for Departmental Instructors was held in November, 1963, in the Treasury Training School, Ibadan. Organized by the Recruitment and Training Division of the Western Nigeria Treasury, the two-week course is

designed to assist government personnel who are engaged in formal teaching of other civil servants, in improving their instructional techniques.

EASTERN NIGERIA – *Seminar on Public Administration*

A successful seven-day seminar on public administration sponsored by the Eastern Nigeria Government in association with the Ford Foundation was held at Enugu in October, 1963. Nineteen civil servants of chief secretary or permanent secretary status attended from Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Nyasaland, Sierra Leone, the Sudan, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Nigeria. The object of the seminar was to allow senior civil servants to pool their experience and to examine practical administrative problems in the public service.

NORTHERN RHODESIA – *Introduction of Non-Racial Personal Tax*

The Northern Rhodesia Government proposes to impose a personal tax. The new tax proposals include the abolition of the existing native tax and the introduction of a non-racial graded personal tax. At the top of the scale, people with incomes of £700 a year or more will pay £8 to £16 a year. At the bottom, people with incomes of more than £100 a year but less than £200, will have to pay between £2 and £4. Both men and women who have sufficient income in their own right will be liable for the tax.

For people with incomes less than £100 a year it is proposed that local authorities be given the power to impose a personal levy on those with incomes of more than £24 a year. Provision is made for the exemption of the aged and the infirm. The proposals are the result of an examination of the financial relationship between the Government and local authorities — including native authorities.

TANGANYIKA – *Regional and Area Commissioners Acts (Amendment) Ordinance*

In 1963 the National Assembly passed a Bill to give to Regional and Area Commissioners wide powers of arrest of persons committing a breach of the peace, etc. This measure (which restores a power held in colonial days by provincial administrative officers) came in for some criticism as being a "very dangerous piece of legislation". The Government emphasized that the Regional and Area Commissioners would not have judicial powers and the persons arrested would have to be brought before the Courts within forty-eight hours.

Book Reviews

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN WEST AFRICA, by Ronald Wraith, *George Allen and Unwin, London*, 1964; pp. 184; 16s.

Mr. Ronald E. Wraith has totally revised, enlarged and rewritten his paperback on Local Government in English-speaking West Africa and has produced an up-to-date and exact account of the subject. His method is comparative, the various facets of local government each being treated in a separate chapter. The systems current in Northern Nigeria and in Sierra Leone do not have enough in common with those of Southern Nigeria and Ghana for this method to be entirely suitable and they are therefore discussed on their own. Thus the bulk of the book is about local government in the Eastern and Western Regions of Nigeria and in Ghana.

For the most part historical background is omitted and the discussion concentrates, quite properly, on the situation since the attempts to modernize and democratize the native authorities in the early 1950's. Mr. Wraith usually begins with a very full explanation of the British methods and then turns to the problems and developments that have arisen when these practices were applied in West Africa. The account is always precise and accurate, the author has immense practical and academic knowledge and his judgments have a calmness, almost a serenity which is often lacking in contemporary comment on African government. There is no doubt that this is the best account of the subject and will long remain the standard work used by students and, one hopes, by some of those engaged in local government itself.

The only aspect which seems to have been a little under-emphasized is the influence of politics. The provincial system was introduced in Eastern Nigeria in large part as an antidote to separatist feeling in the Calabar-Ogoja-Rivers area and the Hudson Report was deliberately commissioned in the hope of countering Middle Belt propaganda.

The other slight doubt which remains concerns the conclusions which Mr. Wraith wants to draw after all this experience. At one stage he says that judged on its merits, local government has been corrupt, inefficient and unable to play any part in the all-important drive for economic development. It was introduced too soon and without any realization that a class of public-spirited men capable and ready to serve on the councils did not exist. He acknowledges that 'sole administrators' or 'caretaker committees' of a few men have produced better administration and have earned more popularity than the elected councils. Yet he jibs at the logical conclusion that it would have been better to rely on a set of centrally appointed prefects to run local government. At one stage he suggests that the system "is now beginning to show new life as it puts down roots in native soil" but he provides no evidence either of the new life or of these roots. Nor is it clear whether in making this point Mr. Wraith is looking at the district councils (which he says are too small and inadequately staffed) or at the newer, more political, provincial structure. Finally he concludes that he can think of no better ways of tackling the problem than those that have been adopted and considers that it has all turned out for the best.

In fact Mr. Wraith is caught in the dilemma that besets all genuine democrats looking at popular institutions that are corrupt. He cannot bring himself to

abandon the whole notion of an elective element. Yet if there are elections, the result is not what he wants so the idea is said to be too soon, too foreign, not reaching the right class, comments which are interspersed with faint hopes that things will improve and reflections that nothing else can be done. It is small comfort that facing the same situation the progressive municipal reformers in the United States at the turn of the century went through all the same stages. Given democratic assumptions, the problem is, in fact, insoluble and Mr. Wraith's difficulties with it do not detract from the plentiful information, careful judgments and illuminating suggestions with which his book abounds.

JOHN P. MACKINTOSH.

THE MACHINERY OF JUSTICE IN NIGERIA, by B. O. Nwabueze, *Butterworths, London*, 1963; pp. xxi+309; 55s.

The machinery of justice in Nigeria at the present day can best be understood, first, by a consideration of the history of the country and the development of its courts from the earliest times, and secondly, by a comparative study of the present legal systems and judicial structures of the several territories comprised in the Federation. This is in fact the approach that Mr. Nwabueze has made to his subject. He has devoted chapters 3 and 4 of his book to the origins of the dual system of British and native courts and its historical development, while chapters 1 and 2 respectively contain expositions of the sources of Nigerian law and the method of administration of the law in Nigeria. Together, these four interesting chapters shed a revealing light upon the comparative study of the workings of the various systems of law and procedure in the several parts of the Federation to which much of the remainder of the book is devoted.

In the later chapters Mr. Nwabueze treats separately of the organization of the courts under the Federal Constitution, the native or customary courts, the "inferior British courts" as there defined, the High Courts, the Federal Supreme Court and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. He continues with chapters on criminal procedure and civil procedure and concludes with a chapter on the legal profession. In the portions that deal with the native and customary courts, the inferior British courts, the High Courts and with civil and criminal procedure, he provides a most useful study of the differences that exist between the laws of the Regions. In addition to supplying the usual references to decided cases to explain the law, the author has referred to the debates of the legislative houses, to text-books, articles, Reports of Commissions, books of travel and statistics to explain the *reason* for the law – a treatment which increases the value and readability of the book.

The work will be welcomed as a whole by university students, and, as to those parts that deal with the courts of to-day and their procedure, will be invaluable to the busy practitioner who has to travel from Region to Region and must keep himself informed of the differences in their legal systems. Mr. Nwabueze, who is a lecturer in law in the University of Lagos, is to be congratulated on a first class production.

It is unfortunate that the book, although published in 1963, appeared before the coming into force of the Republican Constitution on the 1st October of that year. Inevitably, that Constitution has rendered some part of the work obsolete already. In particular, the references to Nigeria's relationship with Great

Britain, to the Crown, the Governor-General, the Judicial Service Commissions and the method of the removal of judges are out of date. Appeals to the Privy Council have been abolished and render chapter 10 otiose. These matters will doubtless be dealt with in future editions.

There are remarkably few errors of substance in the book but attention must be drawn to the statement on page 114 that under the Native Courts Law, 1956, (NR) appeals from lower grade courts still went, as before, to higher grade courts of first instance and that from the decisions of the latter in both their original and appellate jurisdiction appeals went to the Moslem Court of Appeal. The latter was true only of cases governed by the provisions of Moslem law and not of cases governed by other native law and custom or statute law, and this should have been made clear, even though the Moslem Court of Appeal has now been abolished.

H. H. MARSHALL.

THE PENAL CODES OF NORTHERN NIGERIA AND THE SUDAN, by Professor Alan Gledhill, *published jointly by Messrs. Sweet & Maxwell and the African Universities Press*, 1963; £7. 7s.

The Indian Penal Code is the basis of the law of crime of more people in the world than are subject to any other penal system. Its continued success undoubtedly lies in its acceptability by communities of diverse races and creeds as a secular code, internationally respectable and inoffensive in situations where religious susceptibilities must always receive the careful consideration of legislators. To the laymen called upon to administer the criminal law, there is merit in the simplicity of its drafting, although judicial interpretation over the past hundred years has established a degree of obscurity and hairsplitting in important areas of the Code sufficient to delight the most pedantic of criminal lawyers. It is a remarkable fact that Northern Nigeria, the only country in decolonization faced with a political necessity to reform the substance of its criminal law, should, after very careful consideration, have voluntarily selected the Indian Penal Code as a model upon which to base a new system, which would be readily acceptable to potentially strong non-Moslem minority interests and at the same time inoffensive to the injunctions of the *Holy Quran* and *Sunna*. Furthermore, it is remarkable that such is the authority of the Indian and, more lately, Pakistani precedents in the interpretation of the Code that no-one before Professor Gledhill has attempted to produce a commentary in detail setting out the local variations in drafting and interpretation, manifest in those countries outside the Indian sub-continent which have adopted the Indian law as the foundation of the local criminal law. Such, indeed, has been the magic of Ratanlal and Sir Hari Singh Gour and the wealth, variety and detail of the interpretation flowing from the Indian Courts during the past century that such a work as Professor Gledhill has now produced was not considered to be necessary at all. Yet the Northern Nigerian Penal Code differs importantly from the Sudan Code upon which it is closely modelled and the Sudan Code has undergone important modifications when related to the Indian original. The case law of India is not therefore always relevant and occasionally wildly misleading in the Sudanese and Nigerian context. Nevertheless, the necessity to rely upon relevant Indian decisions for guidance and

persuasion and the paucity of reported cases from the Sudan and Northern Nigeria is apparent after study of the cases tabled by Professor Gledhill, who had access to all available material from both countries. No doubt much of value is not being reported in Northern Nigeria and almost no reporting was undertaken in the Sudan by the Condominium Government. Students of the law of the Sudan await with interest the appearance of the annotations of past judgments said to be under preparation by the Sudanese authorities with the help of M. K. O'C. Hayes. Only then, and if the Sudan Government succeeds in establishing a regular system of reporting thereafter, will the true nature and degree of the Sudan variation from the Indian precedents be apparent.

Law reporting in the High Court of Northern Nigeria and in the Supreme Court of Nigeria is on a sounder footing but is thin, if only because so few criminal cases are heard by the High Court at first instance or on appeal from the Native Courts of the Northern Region in which the major part of the original jurisdiction is exercised. Northern Nigeria, too, has had barely three years of experience in the administration of the new Code. We may therefore find that further research and more intensive reporting in the Sudan and Nigeria will reveal considerable local differences in interpretation which were not apparent to Professor Gledhill as he was preparing this work.

Professor Gledhill, too, as a scholar, administrator and teacher of Indian law is primarily concerned with interpreting his subject to his readers. Where the Codes overlap, he is on sure ground and prepared to expound in detail and with immense authority. He is not so happy where, as in the Northern Nigerian Penal Code, there have been extensive importations from other sources and, in particular, from the Criminal Code of Nigeria. This is not a weakness which need cause worry to students and practitioners in Northern Nigeria because any gaps can be filled in adequately by reference to the companion volume published by Messrs. Sweet and Maxwell in 1963, entitled *The Criminal Law and Procedure of Lagos, Eastern Nigeria and Western Nigeria*, by Sir Lionel Brett and Mr. Ian McLean. But the point is a fair one if only established by a comparison of Professor Gledhill's comments on Section 319A (Having Possession of Thing Reasonably Suspected of being Stolen) and Messrs. Brett and McLean on the equivalent Section in the Nigerian Criminal Code.

This is, however, petty and perhaps churlish criticism of a work which is so comprehensive and thorough and so rich in its comparative references to local legislation and to the law of the United Kingdom, India and other countries of the Commonwealth. We are already indebted to Professor Gledhill for a number of books particularly in the field of constitutional law in relation to Pakistan. I am sure, however, that this book will be regarded as his *magnum opus*, at least in the Sudan and Nigeria, where the need for this work has long been felt. His varied experience as a High Court Judge in Burma, and as an administrator in the Indian Civil Service, has ensured that he has written a book of practical value to the Bench, Bar and Police Forces of both countries. Thirteen years of teaching the Indian Penal Code at the School of Orienal and African Studies in the University of London have attuned him to the needs of the law students. I have some knowledge of the difficulties under which Professor Gledhill has laboured during the past three years in the writing of this book and we are fortunate, indeed, that he has been able to overcome a serious illness and other troubles in order to give us such a valuable addition to our resources in teaching and the administration of the law in Africa.

S. S. RICHARDSON.

THE SOURCES OF NIGERIAN LAW, by A. E. W. Park, *African Universities Press, Sweet & Maxwell*, 1963; 32s. 6d.

Earlier writers on Nigerian law were interested in branches of that legal system other than the sources. Mr. Park's book, therefore fills an important gap in the growing literature on Nigerian law. The sources of Nigerian law reflect the country's history and political growth. Like most former colonies which are now sovereign states, Nigeria borrowed a considerable portion of her law from abroad – England. With the borrowed law came machinery for its administration. The received English law thrives side by side with the indigenous legal system.

The book falls into three clear parts which correspond with the three sources of Nigerian Law the author discusses – English Law, local legislation and case law, and customary law. With regard to English law, the major difficulty is the determination of which pre-1900 English statutes are applicable to Nigeria. The first part of the book contains an admirable discussion of the local statutes on the subject.

In dealing with Nigeria case law as a source of law, the author makes no mention of law reporting. At present the development of case law in Nigeria is inhibited by the absence of up-to-date law reports. Further, the rules of precedent in Nigeria as stated in pages 56-60 are to be read subject to section 120 of the new Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1963. Under the constitution, the Nigerian Supreme Court became the final court of appeal in place of the Privy Council. Mention is made in a postscript of possible changes in the new constitution.

Mr. Park gives a clear instructive account of the character and validity of customary law and its relation to English law. Nigerian customary law is neither uniform nor written. Furthermore, most members of the bench and bar had no formal training in the nature of customary law. In both superior and some customary courts, customary law remains a question of fact to be established by witnesses or with the assistance of assessors. Thus, in EHIGIE v. EHIGIE [1961] W.N.L.R. (not considered in the book because it was not then reported) the president of the grade "A" customary court, who was a legal practitioner, was held incapable of determining a rule of customary law from his personal knowledge. These problems present a challenge to the new Nigerian universities.

Considerable attention is paid to the conflict of law problems in Nigeria. Such conflicts arise not only between English and customary law but also among various systems of customary law. The existing legislation on these problems is not comprehensive and in no sense satisfactory.

The author foresees that the future development of the sources he discusses will be the absorption of customary law into case law and statutes. This process will involve, in many cases, the blending of English and customary law principles. It is only by legislation that an early stream-lining of the conflicts between customary and English law could be achieved.

The product of Mr. Park's researches requires the attention of those interested in the development of Nigerian law. Nigerian law is young. Consequently it requires careful nurturing in order to flower as a mature and respectable system. Mr. Park is to be congratulated for his accuracy and detailed treatment of statutes, cases and other relevant principles.

E. I. NWOGUGU.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

INVENTORY OF ECONOMIC STUDIES CONCERNING AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA. Compiled by the C.S.A. and C.C.T.A. *C.C.T.A. Publications Bureau, York Buildings, London, W.C.2.* 1963; pp. vii + 159 35s.

This inventory gives a reading list on subjects covering all the countries South of the Sahara classified under Africa – General, Congo (Leo), French-speaking Africa, Portuguese Africa, English-speaking Africa and South Africa, together with an author index. Subjects of particular interest are population and demography, land, housing, labour, public finance and economic policy. Suitable mainly for libraries.

THOUGHTS ON BASIC EDUCATION, by Salamatullah, *Asia Publishing House, London,* 1963; pp. 112; 16s.

This slim volume covers four main aspects of basic education: the meaning of basic education; the matter and method of teaching; organization and development; teacher education. It contains a discussion on two mutually contradictory attitudes towards basic education, the one being that it is the spearhead of a silent revolution establishing the self-sufficient village community, the other that it is harmful for intellectual growth. Of interest to those concerned with community development.

COMMITTEE PROCEDURE FOR CLUBS AND VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS, by Peter du Sautoy. *Oxford University Press,* 1963; pp. 44; 1s. 10d.

This small paperback describes in detail the formal procedures normally adopted in committees. Simple and useful for those not familiar with committee work particularly in connection with voluntary organizations and clubs.

THE JOURNAL OF WEST AFRICAN LANGUAGES. Cambridge University Press and the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan. *Published twice yearly,* 18s. od. per issue or 30s. od. for annual subscription. (60s. od. including 2 monographs).

The inaugural issue of this new Journal on West African languages was made in January 1964. The policy of the Journal is to record basic material of languages of which previously little or nothing has been known, material such as word-lists, notes on dialectal variation, phonological notes and grammatical sketches.

The Journal will appear twice yearly. Where material offered is too bulky to appear in a volume of the Journal it will be published as a supplementary monograph.

This is a new venture arising from the increasing interest and activity in research into the many languages in West Africa, some of which are yet hardly known to exist. The first issue carries contributions on Eloyi, Kpelle, Igbirra, Ngwe and the Gokana dialect of Ogoni. It is fitting also that the final article is a tribute paying honour to the great linguist Dr. Roy. C. Abraham who achieved individually or in collaboration so much pioneering work in the study of African languages, and who died in June 1963.

The Journal has been launched with funds from the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, the West African Languages Survey and the African Studies Association of the U.S.A. It will be of interest to all students of West African languages.

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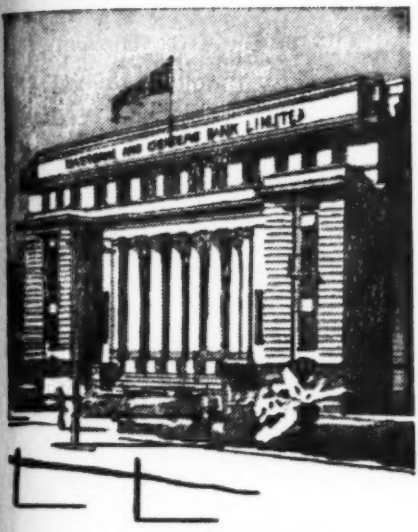

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